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ABSTRACT

The second largest group of minority women in the U.S., Mexican American women share multitudinous histories, vast differences in lifestyles, experiences and realities. A Chicana may have recently arrived from Mexico, or her ancestors may have been in the Southwest since 1520 (or before) or in the Midwest since the 1880's. She may be rural, urban, poor, middle class or Ph.D., a high school dropout, a teacher, or a migrant. She does share some basic, and heterogeneous, roots in the development of Indian and Spanish culture and history. She also shares the history of involvement and participation which has been a way of life for the Chicano community in the U.S. since 1848. Documenting the development of Mexican American women in Mexico and the U.S., this monograph discusses: the Chicana's historical legacy during Mexico's Pre-Columbian and Colonial Periods, its War for Independence, the 1910 Revolution, and during the United States Colonial Period and history between 1840 and 1960; Chicanas in the U.S. today--their education, employment status, income, health, housing, roles, and attitudes; the Chicana and her family; today's Chicana and her achievements in education, literature and journalism, political activities, and labor; Chicanas in the feminist movement; and the Chicana and the future. Appended are a 119-item bibliography, addresses for 35 Chicana organizations, and various resolutions passed between 1970 and 1975 in 10 Chicana conferences. (NQ)

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Profile on the Mexican American Woman

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PROFILE ON THE MEXICAN AMERICAN WOMAN

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I. Introduction

The Mexican American woman as a human being, as a topic for research, or as the object of a project or curricula is an elusive being. Myths and stereotypes abound because very few resources have been allocated to objective research and to documenting historical fact. A popular myth and often-used excuse for not producing curricula relevant to Mexican American women is that "there is no literature available." Literature and information abound, undiscovered and unculled in archives (church, University of Texas, Bexar, Santa Fe State Library Archives, etc.), obscure university publications, theses and dissertations, in the writings of women themselves, in period community newspapers, and in government publications.

Unfortunately, despite this there is at present no single source which can provide a profile on the Mexican American woman. This is what is attempted herein, to provide at least a broad stroke profile, with some basic references and information for educators, program administrators and the general public to use as a starting point. A documentation section in the Appendix will provide the most comprehensive and grassroots "statement of need" to date, because the resolutions presented through historic meetings are directly voicing the issues and concerns considered important by women. The scope of work is ambitious and the time and resources limited. But, hopefully, it may serve as a stimulus to pique the intellect of those involved in multicultural and bilingual educational projects to begin the development of curriculum which is adequately balanced in its female/male content.

The term Mexicana, Chicana, Mexican American and Hispana woman is used throughout interchangeably simply because the author and the Central Texas community she lives within does exactly this. It is the author's firm belief that communities, bureaucracies, and even educational institutions in the U.S. tend to use one of the four terms, or any combination of one, two or four terms to refer to the woman of Indo-Spanish origin.

Scholars, writers and the U.S. Census Bureau have expressed opinions on the topic. For example, Rudy Acuna in speaking of labels says that,

> "Recently the label Mexican American has become popular following the hyphenization

> tradition of other ethnic groups. Anglo Americans have promoted the use of this label and for a time it seemed as if it would be universally accepted. But within the last four years activists have begun to question this identification. At first some just dropped the hyphen and symbolically broke with the Americanization tradition. Others sought to identify themselves with a name of their own choice. They selected the term Chicano which had often been used to designate lower class Mexicans. Even though it had negative connotations for the middle class, activists considered that it was a symbol of resistance as well as a demand for self-determination. Such self-identification is, I believe, a necessary step in the process of awareness by which Chicanos can liberate themselves collectively."[1]

A Mexican American woman, Rosalie Flores, has this to say about the use of the term:

> ". . . one thing is sure, Mexican Americans are uniting under the term 'Chicano.' It is a name they gave themselves; it did not come from indecision or mischievousness of others. There is nothing onimous about its use. Its meaning is obscure, but it has been used within la raza for years; nor does it matter. What is important is that la raza is together."[2]

The widespread use of the terms interchangeably has created problems for the U.S. Census Bureau, because when they use one term, Mexican or Mexican origin, they tend to undercount, since many persons have preferences to other terms such as the four already mentioned. During the period 1970-1973 they showed a marked increase in population and they attribute this to several factors, among which was the use of new terms to identify persons of Mexican origin.

> "In 1970 only one category 'Mexican' was given to persons for self-designation as far as persons of Mexican origin were concerned. By 1973, however, three other categories 'Mexican,' 'Chicano' and 'Mexican American' were added. These new designations apparently increased both the Mexican count and the total Spanish origin count."[3]

If the U.S. Census Bureau has found that the different terms are accepted and used, it is hoped that the users of this publication will also feel comfortable with the terms used.

Mexican American women share with every other group in this country perplexing diversity and heterogeneity. Certain historical elements relevant to the development of Mexican American women in Mexico and the United States will be selected for treatment in this work. And in considering these one must remember that Mexican American women share multitudinous histories, vast differences in lifestyles, experiences and realities.

A Chicana may have arrived from Mexico yesterday, or her ancestors may have been in the Southwest since

1520 or before; her ancestors may have lived in the midwest since the 1880s. She may be rural, urban, poor, middle class or Ph.D., a high school dropout, a teacher, or a migrant. She does share some basic, and also heterogeneous, roots in the development of Indian and Spanish culture and history. She also shares the history of involvement and participation which has been a way of life for the Chicano community in the U.S. since 1848.

It is certainly hoped that this very rough profile will illustrate the fact that the Mexicana has achieved a great deal against terrible odds. The tragedy of a socioeconomic condition as poor as the Chicana's should certainly be compared to the strength, drive and intelligence which has motivated her involvement in efforts to improve her life and the lives of others.

Hopefully, "program" administrators and educators will see that despite the poverty, the low educational status and the misconceptions which haunt the Chicana, she has overcome and she is out in the forefront more and more taking any and all available opportunities, and even making some of her own. That her "identity" is at a "transitional stage" as it is commonly said, may or may not be true. It may take a new Mestizo race more than four hundred years to stabilize; it doesn't really matter because every day in every community the the U.S. she is out there with her family, or on campus, or in the fifth grade, discovering, building and restructuring her life as the need arises.

CHAPTER I

FOOTNOTES

1. Rodolfo Acuña, Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972), p. 2.

2. Rosalie Flores, "The New Chicana and Machismo," Regeneracion, Vol. 2/4 (1975), p. 56.

3. U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census: Vol. 1 Americans of Spanish Origin (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1974), pp. 8-10.

II. Chicana Historical Legacy

Summary

By understanding the past, Chicana historians hope that contemporary women will be better equipped to cope with the present and to determine their future.

For Chicanos the present movement to document contemporary history and to research the past began approximately in 1969. By this time the 1960s Chicano civil rights movement ranks were swelling in the United States. As women assisted in discovering historical sources for the total community, particularly applicable to males, they became impatient to discover their place in history. Initial efforts in Chicana research were launched then. The great impetus came, however, out of necessity in the early 1970s. Some Chicano males, already in leadership and authority positions, challenged women's participation in activities outside the home. Their claims were that "everyone knew", and history, culture and tradition established that Mexican American women could/should only be homemakers and mothers. Chicana activists who acted differently were vulnerable to charges of being "Agringadas," "Anglocized," "feminists" and worst of all "anti-traditionalists."

Chicanas began their frantic search then on a very defensive posture. The Chicana caucus in the Chicano Raza Unida Conference in Houston and Austin, 1970, the 1971 National Chicana Conference in Houston, Texas, and the 1972-1974 Raza Unida Conferences throughout the United States helped women share certain attitudes and feelings which were fairly universal. From Texas to California, Seattle to D.C., Chicanas disagreed totally with the position men had taken. Their feelings of strength as women, their status within their homes and communities belied what men were saying.

From this starting point, Chicanas have moved to shake and destroy all stereotypes held about them, regardless of the source. Women decided that ultimately the hard work they had accomplished in the labor movement, educational reform movement and the Chicano civil rights movement were proof enough that the images held about them were precisely that, images. Then there were other factors, such as the feelings they shared about liberation, development, militancy, and the strength they felt from within.

From the present they moved back to document attitudes and achievements responsible for their strength. The arduous task began with simultaneous historical research as well as contemporary documentation, assuring Chicanas a solid historical base in the future.

Research has provided ample evidence about the high status and the strength of the Mexican and Mexican American woman. Women shared the world with men in pre-Columbian times. They governed as queens and priestesses on earth. In the heavens they were goddesses with major and minor roles. Women shared the economic life of the country by assuming strong positions at home and in the marketplace.

Women, willingly and unwillingly, were the creators of the new Mestizo race in Mexico and the southwestern United States. Mexican Indias, Mestizas, and U.S. Indians have worked in their communities for the past four hundred years toward the peaceful coexistence of Indian, Spaniard and French. In the past two hundred years they have endured the process of adaptation between Mestizos and Anglos in the United States.

The periods which Chicanas have successfully documented include the pre-Columbian, colonial period, Independista period, revolutionary period and the period of feminist activity in Mexico. In the U.S., the twentieth century period is the best documented, 1900-present. And a great deal of research and writing is yet to be done for the U.S. colonial period, 1500-1800, and for the resistance period, 1840s to 1920. The colonial period particularly promises rich resources in localized histories of the ways in which Chicanas in the Southwest developed their lifestyles relative to the influences of Spaniards, Mexican Mestizas and southwestern Indian women.

Mexicanas During the Pre-Columbian Period

Historical notes for establishing the quality of life and position of Mexicanas during the pre-Columbian period in Mexico are drawn from the area known as the Valley of Mexico. This centermost part of the Republic of Mexico, Mexico City and its environs, has been called the "synthesis of the entire country, the summarizing point of Mexican culture with its past, present, and the merging of geographically close and distant places."

Archaeologists have discovered in that very locale the remains of "Tepexpan Man" dating 10,000 years. By 1500 B.C., agricultural sciences were advanced enough in the area to permit stabilized communities.[1]

The peoples who settled the region exerted cultural influence over an extensive region through commercial activities which reached from coast to coast and as far away as Guatemala. Their stable social order, which had strengthened under the God Quezalcoatl, was severely shaken with the takeover by the new masters from the north, the Toltecs. They, in turn, were vanquished by the Aztecas, also northerners. By the fourteenth century the Aztecas had established themselves on Lake Texcoco and reigned over the neighbor cities and tribes.[2]

Gods and Goddesses. Women shared the heavens with men. The couple Ometecuhtli and Omecihuatl ruled the universe. Direct contact with the earth was maintained through the gods who represented the elements: Tonatiuh (Sun), Metztli (Moon), Coyolxauhqui-Mixcoatl (goddess of stars and clouds), Echecatl (Winds), and Huitzi-Lopochtli (adored by the Aztecs as the Sun God). The most important gods to the Nahuas, because of their direct influence over the individual, were Tezcatlipoca (ruler over good and evil), Quetzalcoatl (wise and benevolent), Tlaloc (Rain God/harvests and nutrition).

Ruling over these gods were the goddesses: Teteoinnan, mother of all gods; Toci, goddess who was the grandmother to all humanity. Other major goddesses were: Coatlicue, mother to the sun, the moon and the God Huitzi-Lopochtli; Cihuacoatl/Tonantzin, goddess of childbirth and provider of happiness and bad luck to humanity; Tlazoltectl, goddess of sensuality and forgiver of sins.[3]

There were also many minor deities, both gods and goddesses, to whom the Nahuas and peoples under their domain paid homage. There was so much attention and devotion paid to their deities that both men and women spent a great portion of their time in religious activities. Of these deities, the most important to women was Cihuacoatl, the Goddess of Childbirth. The Cihuapipiltin were also revered. They were a group of goddesses who had ascended to this status through death in childbirth. In Mexico City, an oratory, the Aticpac, was reserved strictly for the worship of these goddesses. Women who died in childbirth were so revered, since they held the same status as warriors who had died in battle. Their bodies were believed to be endowed with super-natural powers, and for a few days after death, their bodies were guarded heavily against warriors who would want to cut off a finger from the left hand, which would give them power over their enemies in battle. Also, the bodies had to be guarded against sorcerers who coveted the dead woman's left arm, for it was considered a prize possession for their witchcraft.[4]

In religious practices and participation, women were an integral part of the process, whether as lay participants or as priestesses. Women in the category of priestesses had the following positions and functions:

> Cihuaquacuilli, whose duties included preparations for the worship of the Goddess Toci.
>
> Cihuatlamacazqui, servants or auxilaries for all religious worship.
>
> Tlamaceuhque, virgins, also active in religious services and providers of religious instruction.
>
> Teixamique, older women who also served in Tzonpanlti services.
>
> Quaquacuiltin, who taught the women who became Cihuallamacazqui.
>
> Ychpochtiachcauh, who were in charge of the young women in the Telpochcalli.

A major role in Nahua religious history is accorded to Ozomoco, a woman who according to Aztec legend designed the Aztec Calendar along with Cipactonal, a male.[5]

Throughout the composite histories of the Nahua peoples to the fifteenth century and at least up to the eighteenth century, there were outstanding women who became historical figures. Some of the better known were:

> Queen Iztacxilotzin, who governed over the Mexicanos in Cuahtitlan after the death of King Tzihuacpapalotzin during 8 Acatl to 12 Acatl (1019-1024).[6]

Queen Xochitl, wife to Tecpancaltzin, legendary queen of the Toltecs. During her reign women were called for war service. She headed the batallions and was killed in battle; legend has it that as she died, blood streamed from her wounds, foretelling the scattering of the Toltec nation.[7]

Ilancueitl, noblewoman whose Toltec lineage from Collhuacan brought to the Aztec dynasty the prestigious relationship to Quezalcoatl.

Queen Xiuh Tlaltzin, first Toltec queen.

Queen Tlillicapatzin, mother of King Cuauhtemoc.

Maria Bartola, daughter of Axayacatzin and Cacica (Senora) of Ixtapalapa.

Dona Magdalena de Mendoza Quaquauhpitzahuac, Cacica and direct descendant from the kings of Azcapatzalco, of the Royal House of Tezozomoc.[8]

Malinalli Tepenal, Casica (Doña Marina, La Malinche) who served as interpreter and diplomat to Hernan Cortes, lived with him and bore him a son.

In a culture accommodating goddesses and queens, the birth of a girl to a Nahua family regardless of social status was a joyous occasion. The ritual with which she was welcomed to this earth by the partera (midwife) and her parents was enthusiastic and loving:

> After taking her from the water, an initial baptism at birth, they would chant: "Oh, precious gemstone, O precious feather, emerald, sapphire, you were created in the land of the Great God and Great Goddess who reside in heaven. You were formed and created by your mother and father Ometecuhtli and Omecihuatl, celestial woman and celestial man. . . . Our dearest daughter, beloved, come to your mother and father. . . . "[9]

Altogether the pre-Columbian Nahua culture had a high regard for procreation and the family. The announcement of a woman's first pregnancy especially elicited great joy and many celebrations. For all pregnancies there were many important social and religious ceremonies extolling her state and the fact that the gods had seen fit to grant the family such blessing.[10]

Pregnant women were not to be present at hangings, not to look directly at the sun or the moon, because the child might be deformed. And generally she enjoyed all types of consideration and respect. As has been mentioned before, if she were to perish during childbirth, she was deified and worshipped as a Cihuapipiltin.

> "The people would see the pregnant woman as something sacred, since in her womb she carried a gift from the Gods."

> ". . . enemy warriors would not harm children, the elderly, and pregnant women."[11]

The Family. Anna-Britta Hellbom, like anthropologists before her and since her time, discovered that the family was the single most important unit in the social structure. Generally, the basic social structures were:

(1) The family (nuclear).

(2) Extended family.

(3) Ritualistic relations (compadres, etc.).

(4) Friends.

After the family, the next important class was the administrative class, including in their order of importance: governing class; priests/priestesses; warriors; businessmen/women; and craftsmen/women.[12]

Education. In the education of girls, mother took care to teach them feminine duties from the age of five. They later learned to sew, cook, and embroider. At home also they learned comportment and a great deal of discipline, since the main purpose of education was to assist the individual to become a part of the group.[13]

There was also compulsory public education for girls at the Telpochcallis and Calmecac. The Telpochcallis was attended by girls who were promised to serve

Tezcatlipoca. There they learned to dance, sing and to serve the gods. At the Calmecac students were taught rhetoric, astrology, theology, philosophy, poetry, and history.[14]

Of great importance is the fact that education was universal and compulsory for all social classes. Also, boys and girls were taught, above all, personal discipline; to have respect for others, respect for the laws and administrators, and respect and love for the good and righteous; to refrain from perversion and greed.

According to Fray Bernar dino de Sahagun, the Nahua humanistic educational system was far superior to that of the Europeans in the sixteenth century. In fact, he is very severe in his indictment of the conquerors for introducing alien social practices which created chaos in the Nahua social structure and destroyed what the Nahuas had so carefully developed.[15]

Attitudes. Aztec girls were taught to speak respectfully, to be diligent, to be honest and dignified, and to be a credit to their parents. By the ages of seven and eight, girls received severe punishment for disobedience. Throughout the process, girls were taught that life had few pleasures, and that primarily it was difficult, "a valley of tears."[16] Girls were given very strict moral education, especially about staying close to home, against abortion, and above all against adultery.[17]

Marriage. Polygamy was legal for the military class, the rich and the ruling class. But even so, only one woman was considered to be a legal wife. Free unions were permitted as long as both parties were single. When a baby was born, they had to marry or to separate. Basically, monogamy prevailed. There are no records of marriages to more than one person.[18]

Both males and females were warned about the heavy burdens of marriage. The wife was advised to comply happily with all work and requirements of marriage, and the men were told to end their running around and to assume responsibility for earning a living, seriously. Couples could obtain a divorce for just cause, such as promiscuity or laziness. If a woman complained about bad treatment from her husband, her marriage could be annulled and the wife could have one-half the property. Also, the children were given to the man's custody.

Once a couple was divorced, they could not reunite on the penalty of death. The double standard existed in cases of adultery, where guilty wives were stoned to death, but men were not.[19]

Employment and Labor. The Indian woman then, like the Chicana today, was exhorted about staying home, being a housewife, and in general being concerned about little else except home, church and the family. But like women today, women then also disregarded the dictates and assumed other roles besides that of housewife. Women also assumed part-time duties outside the home in addition to housework.

Codices show that women participated in the labor force as textile workers, artists, artisans, feather craft workers, salespersons, curanderas, midwives, marriage brokers, and seamstresses.[20] Hellbom documents:

> "It is to be assumed that women, as well as men, participated in business, especially if one of the partners produced goods for sale. Women are shown in the codices as vendors for textiles, featherwork, and at times they participated in the fabrication of the goods or they raised the livestock and sold related by-products. They also sold foodstuffs. . . ."[21]

Women's Rights. In the upper classes (pillis) of Mexican society, women governed and had the same rights as men. She commanded as much respect as the man, since her rank carried a great deal of power because she was directly in the line of succession.

Mexicanas in Nahua society could also own property in their own name; when married, property was held communally and she could appear for a divorce under the conditions mentioned before.[22]

As an overall summary, at the time of the conquest:

> "Mexican women within her cultural milieu had considerable status in all moral and educative elements and the old historical concepts which portrayed Aztec women as victimized by a cruel and bloody (exploitive) regime can be discredited."[23]

Seemingly by this time Nahua society was primarily patriarchal, but even then as it is in the present with the Mexican family, there was much ambivalence about status and sex. Leadership, lines of succession, and inheritance seem to vary depending on locale and administrative procedure. Among the Nahuas,

> "el hombre era el jefe indiscutible de la familia, y esta vivia en un ambiente completamente patriarcal . . . Sin embargo no hay que representarse a la mujer mexicana como una especie de perpetuo meno de edad. En una sociedad donde el hombre dominaba, no estaba, sin embargo, tan postergada como podria creerse a primera vista. En

> la antiguedad, las mujeres habian ejercido el poder supremo, en Tula por ejemplo, y hasta parece que originalmente el poder monárquico en Mexico se encuentra en una mujer, Ilancueitl. Las mujeres, por lo menos en un principio transmitian el linaje dinastico: Ilancueitl trasplantó a Mexico el linaje tolteca de Collhuacan, que fue lo que permitio a la dinastía azteca reclamar para si la ascendencia prestigiosa de Quetzalcoatl. . . ."[24]

Even as Hernan Cortes marched into Mexico in 1522, he encountered evidence of the political strength of women in certain societies. In one of his Cartas de Relación dated October 15, 1524, he narrates an episode on May 15, 1522 where, by capturing a Cacica in one of the towns they wanted to overtake, they succeeded, for she ordered the entire town to pledge allegiance and obedience to the King of Spain as she was going to do. Everyone obeyed and the Spaniards took over.

Mexicanas During the Colonial Period

In 1519, the Spaniard, Hernan Cortes, stepped on Mexican soil, and through a series of politial and military maneuvers destroyed the Nahua empire, beginning a three hundred-year European colonization period in Mexico. The fact that Cortes landed in Mexico on the very day that the God Quezalcoatl was supposed to return to the Nahuas certainly helped his cause. The wide-ranging dissatisfaction of the Empire's subjects to Aztec rule also helped him gather allies. Whatever the conquest was, it created a displacement of the Nahua social structure, religion, and educational system. The shock was traumatic for the men, and anihilating for the women, for their lives revolved around these established institutions. Women saw themselves totally defenseless in a world of humiliation, abuse and slavery.

> "With the conquest, the entire Aztec society, especially the Pillis and macehuales, the professional groups, was transformed so traumatically that the entire structure was degraded. Indians from every class were converted into servants or aides to the conquerors. In other words, the conquerors assumed the higher position.

> "This affected the position of women even greater since they lost their social status and were relegated to positions of maids to the new masters. Instead of improving, women's positions generally worsened since great numbers of them had to assume duties formerly done by a servant class. This they did and without the prestige or regard that the professional servant class had enjoyed in their culture; for the work done by this class was considered of great importance and was greatly appreciated."[25]

Thousands of women had their faces deformed by the branding iron as they were marked for the slave market. Married and single women were taken at will by the conquerors, and women seemed very far removed from the times when she was considered "precious gem and valued feather" by the family.[26]

Indian women most assuredly still held the power as women, but as the Spanish women arrived in the middle 1500s, Spanish women, Criollas and Mestizas respectively held the power. Spanish women naturally were held in high esteem, for they were mothers to the Criollos, while the Indian women gave birth to the Mestizo, the "estirpe de los desamparados."[27]

Most scholars agree that the colonial period in Mexico and the rest of Latin America was not conducive to the development of women. Primarily, colonial society forces were employed to reduce women's role to submission as daughters and wives. At the most, women could leave home to direct a school, care for the sick, and assist in homes for the destitute, or enter the numerous convents.[28]

Anna Gomez-Nieto, the Chicana feminist and writer, identies many functions that women served during colonial times:

> "Women were a very necessary part of the colonial economy of Mexico. In mining communities women worked as forced labor and kept the men alive. They made tallow for candles in the mines. They were also used as sexual objects when used as a means of monetary exchange."[29]

In the silk industry, the heavy labor of reeling the raw silk was done by the women. Women also participated in the economy as bakers, servants and candy makers. They played a major role in the marketplace as well in sugar mills, wineries and chocolate mills.

Another very destructive factor to social units, the family unit and to women in general was the practice of breaking up families to induct either member into domestic service or to assign each one to a different work locale.

Eventually through the intercession of religious authorities and concerned citizens, the Spanish monarchs issued protective legislation, especially for the relief of Indian women (1536-1751). Major stipulations were:

> The Queen ordered that no woman nor child would be branded under penalty of loss of position and property to the offender.
>
> That explorers by land or sea were not to take married or single women for service of any type.
>
> That no official shall take married or single women into service.
>
> That "encomenderos" land overseers or landholders should not live in the towns under their jurisdiction and that they should not take Indian girls into their service.
>
> That women will not be inducted into forced labor.
>
> That Indian girls will not be married with Indian males (for the sole purpose) of making them pay higher tributes.
>
> That women aged 18-60 years old who paid tribute would pay less than males.
>
> That women would not be enslaved for rebellious behavior or any other reason.
>
> That domestic service for Spaniards be done voluntarily by married women, accompanied by their husbands, and by single women with their parents' permission.

Despite this legislation, there was much suffering among Indian women, for except for a few fortunate Cacicas who enjoyed wealth and prestige for a relatively short period of time, most of the Indian women of the period suffered great reversals in the three centuries of Spanish rule.

Some Cacicas of the period who enjoyed prestige, wealth and who intermarried the Spaniards are:

> Doña Magdalena de Mendoza, Quaquauhpitzahuac, descendant from the Royal House of Tezozomoc.
>
> Doña Isabel y Doña Marina Moctezuma, daughters of the Indian Monarch Moctezuma, were given land and jurisdiction in several towns in central Mexico.
>
> Luisa, the daughter of King Xicotencatl of Tlaxcala, was given in marriage to Pedro de Alvarado and their descendants still survive in Mexico.
>
> Doña Maria de Mendoza Austria y Moctezuma, Moctezuma's granddaughter.[30]

There were many Indian families which were allowed to rule under Spanish tutelage to provide some continuity to administrative structures for the new masters. But even there, a gradual devaluation of power is seen until by the 1700s the Cacique lines are weakened and Caciques served in menial roles as artesans, storekeepers, and farmers.[31] The women's role is even weaker, and alternatives are found for their development, with the construction of more convents to house Indian women who had a desire to live in seclusion and good works. (Indian women were excluded from convents for Españolas and Mestizas.) The convent "Corpus Christi de Indians Caciques" filled this function by recruiting from the upper-class those Indian women who because of their parentage had not been deprived of basic education like the other little Indian girls. The women admitted to the convent were the potential leaders among Indian women, those who could read and write, work mathematics and who had training in religion and politics. Outstanding intelligent Indian women like Sor Felipa de Jesús, Sor Antonio Pérez de los Santos, Sor Rosa Sor Antonio de la Santisima Trenidad, Rosa de Loreto, claustered in this Convent de Corpus Christi, are all fine examples of what Indian women could have been during the colonial period, had they all been educated.[32]

An outstanding female during this period was Sor Juan Ines de la Cruz (1648-1695) who was a Mestiza and could attend an integrated convent. From her writings, it is very obvious her choices in the Mexico of the period were limited: marriage, life at the court, or the convent, where she could work and develop her talents. Sor Juana Indes de la Cruz, a genius from early childhood, mastered mathematics, the natural sciences, languages and literature. She is the literary giant of the period, and is recognized as the foremost poet of the times. All this was accomplished in a short lifespan (most manjas/nuns seemed to live 30-40 years maximum). Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz was constantly harrassed about her activities. Toward the end of her short life, she gave up all academic pursuits to devote herself to "good works" until her death in an epidemic in 1695.[33]

Male/Female Relations during the Colonial Period. Juan Alegria frankly states that the desirable ticket to status in the new society was the Spanish male. For this reason, while the first relations between the two groups were by force and violence, eventually parents gave their daughters up willingly and women themselves submitted.

> "Buscando seguramente el 'status' de la castellana." - "Seeking the same status that the Spanish women enjoyed."
>
> "For the Indian woman there was no other fate than to serve. They served the Spaniards, keeping their homes and children and at the same time providing sexual favors to the Spaniards. The Mestizos' mothers were never appreciated in their motherhood nor as persons. Naturally, the males felt wounded by these conditions, and in their powerlessness to change things, they blamed the women."[34]

The conquest also had a dramatic effect on religion in terms of masculine/feminine orientation.

> "The conquest was seen not merely as the defeat of the people; it simultaneously brought about the fall of the Indian hero Gods and the end of a cosmic Cycle. With the foundation of a new rule, the Indians returned in a sense to the safer, more pacific female deities. This doubtless was one of the decisive reasons for the rapid acceptance and the popularity of the worship of the Holy Virgin."[35]

Doña Marina, Colonization and the Mexicana Identity. The very physical suffering of women during the colonial period is miniscule compared to the psychological scars, caused by the conquest, Mestisaje, and the growing pains of a colonized society. Morally, Mexicanas have suffered the brunt of the blame for the conquest, for giving life to the children of the conquerors.

Despite the fact that many rules like King Moctezuma did relatively little to repel the foreign conquerors; despite the fact that those very same upper-class families opportunistically aped the newcomers and allied themselves with them through marriage and by free unions, one sole Indian slave, Doña Marina, carries the blame symbolically for the conquest and the birth of the Mestizo race. Octavio Paz, Samuel Ramos, Carlos Fuentes and many other writers, both Mexican and foreign, have made this one woman, Doña Marina (La Malinche) the symbolic object of all their negative feelings about the conquest and Mestisaje.

Doña Marina, whose Indian name is Malinalli Tenepal, was born and raised in Oluta Coatzacualco in a matriarchal society. She was deposed from her position as a Casica at an early age and sold into slavery by her parents, so that her half-brother could inherit her position. Her role in history was determined when her owners gave her to Hernan Cortés along with other slaves when he first stepped on Mexican soil. Her intelligence, eagerness to serve, language skills in Nahua and Maya, and also her beauty, soon established her in an enviable position with her new masters. Malinche, born a leader, knowledgeable in politics, desirous of her freedom, quickly learned Spanish and became indispensable to the conquest. In addition to this, she was known to be a follower of Quetzacoatl and a believer in the prophesies, a fact which predisposed her to accept the new faith predicated by the Spaniards.

Aniceto Aramoni, contemporary psychologist, one of her few defenders, considers her indispensable to the conquest with her powerful position as translator and diplomat. Unfortunately for her image as an historical figure, she was also taken by Cortes as a lover, mothered his child, and was later discarded by him when he brought a wife from Spain. Symbolically, she has represented the thousands of Indian women who through similar circumstances suffered the same fate.

According to Aramoni, Doña Marina, given the circumstances, was totally justified in acting the way she did. Politically, she was astute enough to recognize the Nahua's vulnerability given the enemies they had created from coast to coast. Doña Marina had nothing to lose. Resentful of her people who had twice sold her into slavery and deposed her of her rightful position, she was raised into a position of power by her new master, the descendant of Quetzalcoatl or even perhaps Quetzalcoatl himself, who honored her with a son, symbolically the first Mestizo. Indeed, Aramoni says, Doña Marina should not and would not feel inferior![36]

In his Psicoanálisis de la Dinámica de un Pueblo, Aramoni speaks very frankly about Doña Marina's role:

> "Para cualquier persona en las mismas circunstancias, la eleccion no era dudosa. En consecuencia ella se asocio con los enemigos de quienes la habián esclavizado. Mujer morena, tratada como sierva, descendiente de personas poderosas, la Malinche, no tenia sentimiento de inferioridad.
>
> ". . . Es pues la ultima mujer indigena y quiza de la organizacion colonial, que ocupa un sitio, que es necesaria, que se respeta y sirve en forma importante; es el ultimo destello del influjo de la mujer en la cultura antigua y en los principios de la nueva. . . ."[37]

Chicana historian Adelaida del Castillo is another defender of Doña Marina and feels that to remove Doña Marina as everyone's "whipping girl" will be to reestablish the Mexicana's rightful strong status once and for all. Castillo argues that:

> "So just as Eve was chosen long ago by Misogynestic men to represent the embodiment of 'root of all evil' for western men, Mexico's first and most exceptional heroine, Dona Marina, "la Malinche" now embodies female negativity (traicion) for our Mexican culture.
>
> ". . . Doña Marina is not a macha. But just the same her submission is to her own convictions. Her actions in the conquest of Mexico are the reification of these convictions."[38]

Another writer, Juana Alegria, urges Mexican women to assist in dispelling the negative feelings about La Malinche and the other Indian women who were instrumental by force or otherwise in beginning in the Mestizo race in the colonial period, so that Mexicanas can help establish a more positive identify.

> "Si la imagen de la mujer Mestiza se respalda en la de la Malinche, pensemos que allí podemos encontrar una de las mas importantes fuentes de los conflictos básicos que con relación a la mujer prevan en nuestro pueblo."
>
> "If the image of the Mestiza is based on La Malinche's image, then we should consider that perhaps there we can find one of the most important sources for the basic conflicts affecting our people in relation to women."[39]

Mexicanas and the War for Independence of Mexico

Considering the strict subjugation of most women during the period of colonization and acculturation in Mexico, the active participation of Mexicanas during Mexico's independence movement is not surprising. Much has been said about the fact that the leadership during the war was predominantly Criollo and Mestizo because they suffered exclusion from the top ranks of government and wealth. Very little has been said about women's motive for such active participation. At least one writer, Otilia Arosemena de Tejeira, attributes women's participation as nationalistic fervor coupled with

> ". . . patriotic stimulus which served as a catalyst to release intimate suppressed rebellion which could be beautifully justified in the light of revolutionary ideals.
>
> "Never before had the women in the Americas a more appropriate forum, and all Latin American countries without exception had heroines who disregarded all limitation and traditional inhibitions in their patriotic fervor."[40]

In Mexico the undisputed model of commitment and action during the Independence Movement was Doña Maria Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez, the Corregidora of Queretaro. Doña Josefa Ortíz de Dominguez was a Criolla, who as the wife of the Corregidor de Queretaro, enjoyed great presige, and a stable financial situation. Despite this, Doña Josefa had never forgotten her previous penurious existence in one of Mexico's many orphanages. She sympathized strongly with the poor Indians and Mestizos enslaved by the system established through Spanish rule. Through one of her daughter's suitors, el Capitan Don Ignacio de Allende, she met Cura Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla who was actively involved in organizing his parish, Dolores Hidalgo. Doña Josefa was attracted immediately to the cause for idependence and became an enthusiastic supporter. Unfortunately, before long, the conspiracy was discovered, but Doña Josefa managed to alert Fr. Miguel Hidalgo before her arrest.

That initial imprisonment was the beginning of many years in prison for her involvement with the cause. As she left her home and family to begin her sentence, she shouted to the youth in uniforms:

> "Do you know why I'm arrested? Because I want to give you a country to honor and respect; to shake off your slavery, to remove the whip which has tormented your back and your children's back."[41]

When the Captain of the troop threatened to kill her for arousing the troops, she replied that she had lost her family, more precious to her than life, and that:

> " . . . it would be an honor to shed my blood and give my life before these young men, to teach them how a woman can die in defense for her ideals."[42]

From prison Doña Josefa continued communication with the rebels until her release to the custody of her family in 1820. During the subsequent years and the negotiations between Don Agustin de Iturbide y Vicente Guerrero, the Mexican rebel hero, she was extremely embittered because she saw the movement corrupted by opportunists who wanted to reestablish an empire. A final break with her family over these differences came in 1824 when she left her home to live in seclusion. To the end she refused recognition and the compromising of her revolutionary ideals to anything less than the total liberation of her people. When she felt death approaching, she called her family together for an eloquent farewell. She professed her love for Spain, as the mother country, and her loyalty to her people to whose land and culture she belonged. Her fight she maintained was not with Spain but with the individuals who had sullied and betrayed Spain's intentions.

> "My struggle has been as a Mexicana against the Spaniards who have come to Nueva España to steal the land, enslave Mexicanos, exploit their labors, degrade their families, humiliate their dignity, and torment their flesh more cruelly than if they were beasts.
>
> " . . . we have not yet achieved our independence and will not achieve it as long as one single Mexicano is exploited and degraded in his own land. That is why I do not consider myself deserving of any praise or merit. In this type of struggle the only possible compensation is the intimate and very personal convication that one has done one's duty. My country owes me nothing and needs pay me nothing."[43]

She forbid their acceptance of any honor or compensation because of her work. Their only inheritance she says is the example of someone who has done her duty in spite of it all.

Like Doña Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez, there were others:

> Manuela Medina "La Capitana" who raised a company of rebels and fought in seven battles for Mexico's independence.
>
> Doña Maria Fermina Rivera, killed in battle in Chichihualco at the side of Don Vicente Guerrero in February 1821.
>
> Luisa Martinez, who was executed in Erongaricuaro for her activities in the war, and commented, "Why do they persecute me? I have every right to do what I can for my country because I am Mexican. I don't believe my conduct is wrong. I am merely doing my duty."

> Gertrudis Bocanegra de Lazo de la Vega, who organized support in Michoacan, lost her husband in the war, and was executed in Patzcuaro, her native town, on October 1, 1817.[44]

Some other women whose names are recorded as participants are Doña Maria Tomasa Estevez y Solas (Villa de Salamanca), Antonio Nova y Catalina Gonzalez (Sierra de Xaliaca), Doña Rafaela Lopez Aguado de Rayon (Michoacan), Ana Garcia (esposa de Jose Felix Trespalacios), Francisca y Magdalena Godos (herainas de Coscomaltepec). There were many thousands of heroines who participated in battles, and who contributed fortunes and services.[45]

During the war for reform when heroes like Don Vicente Guerrero were making history, heroines like Dona Fermina Rivera perished in the many battles that were fought. Other women who established their name in the annals of history are Doña Dolores de Catalan, Maria del Socarro Diaz, María Ocampo, Loreto Encina de Áviles, Patricia Villalobos and Soledad Solorzano de Régules.[46]

Revolution of 1910 and the Participation of Women

From the stormy Independence War period of 1810, Mexico passed through the foreign intervention wars of 1848 (when Mexico lost its northern territory to the U.S.), and 1867, then through a period of relative peace until 1910. Then, again, war broke out against the Porfirio Diaz regime, this time to establish once and for all the fact that Mexico belonged to Mexicans and not to foreign powers. Also involved was the crucial principle that the land and its benefits belonged to those who worked for them.

The Mexican military archives contain thousands of dockets on women who once again became incorporated into the war and social reform effort. Writers of Mexican history have conceded that the chaotic situation for families prior to 1810, the subsequent struggles since 1810, and the relatively short period of stability did not really afford women another choice but to follow the armies.

Thousands of men were mobilized from coast to coast, leaving women unprotected and with the family totally uprooted. There was no other choice but to follow. Scholars have also maintained that the use of new and lighter military weapons provided greater opportunity for women to "pick up the arms."[47] And this the Mexicanas did, both in the social work field and in the military. They acted as financiers, social workers, journalists, and as solders in armed services. Some great figures from this period are: Carmen Serdan, Aquiles Serdan's sister, and his wife Doña Filomena del Valle de Serdan. They helped organize the first revolutionary forces in Puebla and gathered munitions for the men. Although Aquiles became one of the first martyrs for the cause, the women in the family continued the fight and spent long periods imprisoned at the Carcel de Merced, and the Carcel de Mujeres in Puebla.

Many liberal journalists were women, such as the very famous Juana Belen Gutierrez de Mendoza, from Guanajuato, who spent much of her time in jail for publicizing the revolution through "Vesper" and other journals and newspapers.

Petra Ruiz, Echa Bala, Encarnación Mares de Panuca, Sra. Carmen Parra Viuda de Alaniz and Doña Juana Torres became famous as soldiers, and ascended in the ranks to become officers. They were acclaimed by all for their bravery and skill in battle.[48]

Altogether, women's participation in the revolution had positive and negative effects. For one, women were able to work behind the lines as clerks and secretaries, smugglers and telegraphers. It also gave women the opportunity to travel, learn about diversity, and become conversant with the life of the nation. All this became an important source of strength for later femininst activity in Mexico.

Some of the negative effects were the barriers to establishing a stable family life for those soldaderas who followed the troops. Then too, women during this period were forcibly conscripted, especially on Victoriano Huerta's orders. On one occasion he took three hundred women from Morelos and sent them to Quintana Roo in hopes of establishing a colony with the men who had been exiled to the territory. Matters did not work out and the women were brought back to Veracruz and abandoned there with the children they bore from their stay in Quintana Roo.[49]

One very strong positive outcome was that

> "During the 1910 Revolution, Mexican men thus became united in new relationships to Mexican women. For the first time in Mexican history, women developed their potentialities on a large scale beside the men and won recognition as companions, mates and partners."[50]

Mexicanas built on this relationship to press for more representation in the nation's public life following the revolution. Although women had sacrificed fortunes, families and lives during the revolution, their social and political status remained unchanged when the 1917 constitution was drawn up and adopted. Women began then to activate for the civil rights they had helped win for others. Another great concern for them also was the obliteration of poverty, the equitable distribution of land, and the improvements of life for women and children in Mexico.

Some of the feminist activities documented during the 1923 to 1959 period were:

1923 - Primer Congreso Feminista Mexicano de la liga panamericana de mujeres.

June 6, 1931 - Primer Congreso Nacional de Obreras y Campesinas.

November 25, 1933 - Segundo Congreso Nacional de Obreras y Campesinas.

1935 - Intense political agitation and oratory by feminists such as Blanca Lydia Trejo, Margarita Robles de Mendoza and others.

1936 - Lic. Emilio Portes Gil names Margarita Robles de Mendoza as Director of Women's Bureau (Sector Femenil).

1936 - Activism by the Comite Femenino Interamericano, pro-Democracia.

1936 - 27 de Febrero establecimiento de la Union Femenia Americana por Palma Guillén de Nicolau.

1940 - Damas del Partido de la Revolución formed.

> "De diario casi se presentaban abogadas, magistradas, oradoras y periodistas a las aulas de las legislaturas para pedir el derecho civico de votar, los politicos lo dejaban siempre hasta, 'Un tiempo mas propicio.' No descansaron nuestras antepasadas activistas hasta no alcanzar enteros derechos politicos, el 7 de julio 1959 cuando voto por primera vez la mujer mexicana en México."[51]

Contrary to preconceived notions, family life in Mexico was not destroyed by this historic occasion.

Although the history of the Chicana is not fully documented, we know that brave women in the U.S. also helped during the Mexican revolutionary period. Maria Gonzalez de San Antonio helped political refugees financially, and Rosa R. de Carrigan and Rosa P. de

Cornejo were active with the Partido Liberal in San Diego, California. Also active with the Partido Liberal Mexicano in California were Maria Talavera and Francisca Mendoza.

It is beautifully fitting that in the period of 1910 above all others the work of two women, two entities, the Mexican and Mexican American, should have been combined in a humanistic struggle for protection and greater benefits to the worker on both sides of the border. It is fitting because if anyone knew oppression and hard work, Mexicanas did; and the same could be said for Mexican American women from 1848 to 1910 and since, as has already been illustrated through statistics and other social commentary.

History of Chicanas in the United States - Colonial Period

The Spaniards were in the area which is now the United States Southwest as early as 1528 when Cabeza de Vaca was shipwrecked near Galveston, Texas. By 1539 an expedition was organized in Mexico for exploring the territory to the north. Fray Marcos and Estevan, the Black Arab exporer, came through Sonora and into Arizona to the Zuni villages of western New Mexico. Then again in 1540, the expedition led by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado was organized in Mexico.

Although Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo explores the bay of San Diego in 1542, it was not until 1769 with the arrival of Fray Junipero Serra in San Diego that the settlement of California was initiated.

In summary, from 1528-1608, the Spaniards explored the Southwest borderlands. Missions, presidios (military establishments) and civilian colonies were established cautiously, for the situation in the Southwest or northern Mexican territory was radically different from what they encountered in southern Mexico. Here there were relatively few sedentary Indian nations. Most Indians lived with nomadic tribes which were never subdued.

The first serious efforts to colonize were made in 1598 when Juan de Oñate set out with 400 soldiers to colonize New Mexico. He traveled through what is now El Paso, Texas, up the Rio Grande to a point near Santa Fe. By 1630 there were a series of settlements and some 25 missions.[52]

Colonization of Texas and California was also slow with some 25 missions established in the late 1600s and early 1700s. Eventually, the Spanish strength in Texas was concentrated in the permanent settlements of Sabine, San Antonio, Goliad, La Bahia, and Nacogdoches.

The historian Carey McWilliams has pointed out that very often U.S. histories are apt to glorify Spanish exploits and to minimize the Indo-Mestizo characteristics of the Southwest. As it is, he claims, the Spaniards themselves saw their position and achievements realistically and described them in this perspective. They recognized that without their Indian guides and liaisons, without their infantes (Indian and Mestizo foot soldiers), they would not have accomplished successful entry and colonization of the southwestern region.

Records more often than not fail to mention the women who came with the first expeditions, and their ethnicity. But it is known that women came with the Spaniards and their Indian and Mestizo compañeros. For example, it is known that a woman gave birth to a child during Juan Bautista de Anza's expedition to California in 1775.[53]

It is known also that there were many marriages between the newcomers and the Indian men and women from the areas where the Mexicanos and Spaniards settled. Again Carey McWilliams points out that

> "While Spanish soldiers and colonists were supposed to live apart from Indian pueblos, the rule was never enforced . . . Most of the hybrid population, however, developed out of the traffic in Indian slaves (outlawed by Spain)."[54]

Apparently, Indian women were secured for household service "with resulting scandals." The total Mestizo nature of southwestern society is borne by the fact that of the wives of the founders of Los Angeles, California, two were Spanish, one was Mestiza, two were Black, eight were Mulattas and nine were Indian.[55] And in both New Mexico and Arizona, McWilliams considers that the Indian population should be regarded in some respects as part of the Hispanic element, for they are similar in racial background, language and religion.[56]

In Texas, unfortunately, most of the Indians were massacred and exiled after the Anglo takeover in 1848. Prior to the time of the large presidios and missions, especially in the San Antonio area, there was much intermarriage between Mestizos, Spaniards and Indians. Also, with the many conversions to Catholicism, converts assumed Spanish surnames and lifestyles, so that eventually many of the Texas Indians were acculturated and assimilated.

It is safe to assume from the writings of historians like McWilliams and from analyzing primary sources such the Bexas Spanish archives at the University of Texas, that whatever Mexicanas existed in the Southwest after the time of the Anglo conquest in the 1840s carried strains combining southwestern Indian cultures, Mexican Mestizo and Spanish.

Again, McWilliams says that while often the

> " . . . form or model (in lifestyles and culture) was Spanish, the ultimate adaptation showed unmistakable Mexican and Indian influences. The culture of the Southwest in 1848 was a trinity, a whole consisting of three intrically woven interpenetrated thoroughly fused elements."[57]

Women in the Southwest. Spaniards who came to the western pueblos in New Mexico encountered certain attitudes concerning women, reminiscent of some of the Mexican nations.

> "The western pueblos were subdivided into matrilineages grouped into clans. Organization was less centralized and women had important functions in home ownership, care of ceremonial paraphernalia, and control of land."[58]

To this background is credited the high position and freedom of action attributed to southwestern Mexican and Spanish women in the centuries following colonization by the Spanish and subsequent Anglo settlement and conquest. One should keep in mind also that Mexican women, the ancestors of southwest Mestizas and of the more recent women immigrants to the U.S., enjoyed similar positions in their societies.

Frances Swadesh in Los Primeros Pobladores speaks of New Mexico Hispanic women:

> "The high status and relative freedom of women which developed in the frontier settlements of New Mexico were partly a response to conditions of existence, but may have also been the result of early intermarriage with the Pueblo women by some of the most prominent settlers."[59]

Other considerations which may have created a freer ambient for southwestern Chicanas are environmental factors. As Frances Swadesh expresses, the Spanish Code was cast aside in the Southwest for practicality's sake.

> ". . . The Code regarding women in relation to men applied theoretically in New Mexico, but in practice it was often disregarded. This was due to frontier conditions and low population which made it impossible to maintain the sexual division of labor that prevailed elsewhere in New Spain. Women and girls apparently never took up mining or the herding of livestock in distant pastures, but they did care for animals grazing in dehesas (community irrigated pastures) or for goats grazing on the hillsides near the placita. Men, on the other hand, did their own cooking in sheep comps or on buffalo hunts and trading journeys. They were and still are willing to cook the meals and mind the children if the wife is ill. Fathers still take active part in teaching skills and values to their children."[60]

Mestizo and Indian women knew how to butcher and skin animals and how to make beef jerky (carne seca). Women and children did the major work in planting crops, irrigating fields and harvesting. Some elderly and wealthy women were often specialists in handiwork, herbal medicine, midwifery, curanderas. Fabiola Cabeza de Vaca, a descendant from this society, describes the women's position from the earliest of times to the present.

> "Every village had its curandera or medica and the ranchers rode many miles to bring the medicine woman or midwife from a distant village or neighboring ranch. Quite often, the wife of the patron was well versed in plant medicine. I know that my grandmother, Dona Estefana Delgado de Baca, although not given the name of medica, because it was not considered proper in her social class, was called everyday by some family in the village or by their empleados to treat a child or some other person in the family."[61]

Frances Swadesh acknowledges that this tradition of action and stepping beyond the usual housewife role has been carried into the present. New Mexico Chicanas have found it necessary to help augment family income by migrating or working in town. For example, she notes,

> "Today's women of the San Juan Basin and Chama Valley are equally active in assuming tasks which in other Hispanic societies are reserved for men. They handle trucks and tractors as a matter of course, and frequently earn anything from egg money to a full time wage. These tasks, performed in the name of the family, make it possible for them to continue living on ranches."[62]

Chicana History, 1840-1900

Mexico's independence from Spain in 1810-1829, and its subsequent struggles to stay free, weakened its hold over the northernmost territory, which is now the U.S. Southwest. Although Mexican patriots in Texas, New Mexico and California lost their lives in the struggle to remain within the Mexican Union, one by one the states fell to the Anglo-American forces and their Mexican collaborators. By February 2, 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, whereby one-half of the total Mexican territory was ceded to the United States. This included Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, and other large fragments of national territory. And again history repeated itself with the new masters. The "ricos," the affluent from Texas to California, intermarried with the newcomers, especially in the border areas. The middle class and, of course, the lower class suffered enormous setbacks which have only begun to be overcome in the past two decades of this century.[63]

Anglos acquired a population of approximately 75,000 Spanish speaking people of mixed Spanish-Indian blood. In addition, the territory included about 250,000 Indians who kept Anglos from colonizing effectively from 1848-1887.

Mexican women, for the second time, along with their families became a conquered group, and their colonization status changed from Spanish-Mexican to Anglo-Mexican.[64]

Among those women whose experiences are recorded include women who became notorious rather than famous and exemplified by "La Tules," who caused scandal to the first Anglo ladies who came to the Southwest with their free ways. Although each of the women discussed in this section represents different experiences and activities, one can begin to visualize the different areas in which Chicanas will participate or be victimized in the twentieth century.

One of the first notable women to suffer the rigors of the new Anglo-Mexican order was Doña Patricia de Leon, 1795-1849, a Texana who was one of the founders of Victoria, Texas. Doña Patricia de León, originally from Soto La Marina, México, came to Texas in the early part of the century (1800s). Through their good relations with Mexico's president in the second decade of the century, she and Don Fernando, her husband, were able to secure a large land grant in Texas. By developing the land and utilizing partly an inheritance brought in by Doña Patricia, the De Leons amassed a great fortune. The family's politics were ambiguous, from good relations with Mexico's government to collaboration with the Texan-Anglo forces. Unfortunately, in the end they were supposedly not trusted by the Mexicans and totally rejected by the Anglo Texans. Doña Patricia's misfortunes came after her husband died in 1833. In the next couple of years her oldest son Fernando was wounded by Anglo Texans for his supposed Mexican sympathies, and another son, Agapito, was murdered in 1836.

Finally, Doña Patricia and the rest of her family, including Capitan Placido Benavides who served in the Texan army, had to flee to Louisiana where they lived in abject poverty. The unfortunate family moved back to Mexico to Soto La Marina. But in 1844 Doña Patricia returned to Victoria, Texas, where she lived in circumstances very different from the time when she was head of the wealthiest family in the state. Their historian remarks that the family returned to find their priceless furniture scattered among the newcomers in the town. Doña Patricia died in Victoria, Texas, in 1849.[65]

Doña Patricia, whose lifespan is 1795-1849, exemplifies the traumatic experiences forthcoming all women who, having already internalized one colonial experience, were entering yet another stage of colonization and level of acculturation.

The period of the eighteen forties to the twentieth century produced at least one pony-rider mail carrier, the Hispana Doña Candelaria Mestas. According to anthropologist Frances Swadesh, Mrs. Candelaria was born in northern New Mexico in 1858 and her contribution to her community was to carry the mail on horseback from Arbales, New Mexico to Rosa, New Mexico, in the still turbulent 1890s.[66]

Another noteworthy Mexicana is the unconventional Doña Gertrudis Barcelo, "La Tules," who shocked the Anglo men and women who came to New Mexico. Doña Gertrudis was recognized as one of the best Monte dealers in the Taos, Santa Fe area. She was a successful businesswoman who established a solid financial base and had the respect of the townspeople. What depressed the Anglo newcomers was the social flexibility which allowed persons like "La Tules" to socialize even in high society.

Susan Magoffin, one of the few white women to come in with the Anglo conquerors to the El Paso, Texas and New Mexico areas was totally disgusted at the frankness with which women danced at parties and smoked with the menfolk.

> "But worst of all, La Tules was there (at the Santa Fe parties), Doña Gertrudis Barcelo, a handsome, urbane female. Everyone seemed to like her, although she owned and personally managed the town's biggest gambling hall."[67]

Another southwesterner who made history for women in the nineteenth century is Teresa Urrea, known as the "Niña de Cabora" and one of Mexico's and the United States' best known faith healers. Teresa Urrea was born in the State of Sinaloa in Mexico in 1872, a Yaqui Mestiza. From her early youth, healing powers were attributed to her and she was dearly loved in the Village of Cabora where she grew up. In 1893 she was deported from Mexico, for she was strongly anticlerical. She came first to El Paso, Texas; then in 1897 she moved to Clifton, Arizona.

Her fame spread and she had the opportunity to tour the United States and Europe on funds which were raised for her in Los Angeles. With donated funds, she also built a hospital in Clifton, Arizona. La Niña de Cabora died of tuberculosis in 1906.[68]

Just as "La Tules" was not exempt from the clash felt by both races during early attempts at socialization, other Chicanas suffered violence and brutal executions during this period when the conquerors established their mastery over the new land. Josefa Segovia and Chipita Rodriguez have a part in history for their execution at the hand of Anglo justice, legal and extra-legal.

Josefa Segovia of Downieville, California, was lynched on July 5, 1851, after she stabbed an Anglo, Fred Cannon, who had assaulted her and insulted her in front of her husband.[69]

Chipita Rodriguez of San Patricio, Texas, has the dubious distinction of being the only woman ever to be legally sentenced to death and executed in Texas. She was in her sixties, a well-liked, respected citizen in her community when she was accused of having murdered John Savage, a horse trader whose body was found near her house. Throughout the trial, she insisted on her innocence, and although no evidence other than the location of the body was introduced, she was sentenced to die. On November 13, 1863, she was hanged, and a rich folklore around her martyrdom abounds in south Texas to this day.[70]

Exemplifying Chicanas who participated in activities considered "antisocial" by most historians and "resistance activities" by Chicano historians, are Rosita Feliz in California and Refugio Robledo in Texas.

Rosita Feliz was Joaquin Murietta's companion from the time he left his home in Sonora, Mexico to go to California in 1850. Rosita was with Murietta through his attempts to coexist peacefully with his Anglo neighbors, and for part of the period when he rebelled and struck back with violence.

By 1853 she had abandoned Murietta to live with a settler named Baker. Although Murietta tracked down her whereabouts and shot her, she survived the shooting and lived to speak of her life with him.[71]

Another Chicana, Refugio Robledo, became involved with the resistance movement unwittingly through friendship, when her family was harbouring Gregorio Cortez. Refugio was involved in the famous "Battle of Belmont." This was a shootout in Belmont, Texas in 1901, when in defense of Cortes, a friend of the family's, she and her family were involved in a gun battle with Sheriff Robert Glover's posse. Refugio Robledo during the shootout valiantly placed herself in front of her sons so they would not be shot down. While in the hospital she was charged with the murder of Constable Schnable who was killed during the gun battle. The charges were never sustained.[72]

La Señora Robledo represents one among many Chicanas who became involved during the persecution of persons who resisted the new systems imposed on the communities, and on the persecution of peaceful men like Gregorio Cortez and Jacinto Trevino who merely reacted to violent treatment.

Within the first fifty years from the time Chicanas were incorporated into the United States, they had produced a figure of great stature, in the person of

Lucy Gonzalez Parsons. Through her contribution to the developing labor movement in the United States, Lucy was destined to be among the first in the long line of illustrious Chicanos and Chicanas who have strengthened the position of the worker in this country.

Lucia Eldine Gonzalez was born in Johnson County, Texas. As a young woman, she moved to Austin, Texas, where she worked in the Capitol, and met a young radical, Albert Parsons. She married Albert Parsons and in the 1880s they moved to Chicago where they became deeply involved with the struggling labor movement. They worked avidly with the Workingmans Party and founded a newspaper, The Alarm. Lucy contributed to the paper as a writer and editor. Her interests in labor organizing turned toward the organization of women workers. At the time of the famous Haymarket Riots in 1866, when her husband was accused of participating and imprisoned, Lucy was involved on her own in organizing women garment workers.

During her husband's imprisonment and after his execution, Lucy continued her activities with the labor movement. At this time she became nationally known, since she traveled to sixteen states on speaking engagements and fundraising efforts for labor activities.

On June 27, 1905, she is listed as one of the leaders and founders of the Industrial Workers of the World. Despite her activity in cooperation with her husband and alone, many of the current "Herstory" textbooks make no mention of Lucy Parson's contribution. However, her words are recorded in the proceedings and archives of the organizations she helped form.[73]

Chicana History, 1900-1910

At the turn of the century, Chicanas focused their attention on matters which would determine the survival of all Chicanos in this country: labor organizing, education, criminal justice and the protection of Chicano civil rights. They ushered the century in on a radical note with strong support for the pro-labor Partido Liberal Mexicano, founded in the U.S. by Mexican revolutionaries Enrique and Ricardo Flores Magon. Although the objectives of the organization and its publication, Regeneración, were to support the revolution in Mexico, both became very instrumental in raising Chicano consciousness. During the period 1904-1922, Chicanos and Chicanas from the tip of Texas to California were fired with the party's ideal of renumeration and justice to the worker. Party activities also gave Chicanos and Chicanas experience in organizing methods and a network of communication which covered the entire Southwest.

Fortunately for Chicanas, one of the party's ideals was the development of women, as Chicano historian

Juan Gomez-Quiñones emphasizes in *Sembradores*, his work on the PLM.

> "The operations of the Partido Liberal Mexicano had three concurrent aspects that are historically interesting: *The role of women*, Anglo-radical collaboration and inter-relations with labor activity. PLM advocated the emancipation of women and partially exposed some of the factors in the oppression of women. The organization urged female participation in its activity. Among its most staunch and most important supporters were Modesta Abascal and Silvina Rembao de Trejo in Mexico and Andrea y Teresa Villarreal in Tejas, and Maria Talavera (companera con Magon), Francisca Mendoza, Ethel Duffy Turner and Elizabeth Trowbridge in Los Angeles, California."[74]

The history of the PLM and its widely distributed *Regeneración* are very important to Chicanas' development. *Regeneración* and its very liberal attitudes on women became a fast selling newspaper throughout the Chicano communities in the United States. On the other hand, the very visible dynamic women of the PLM organized forums and rallies from San Antonio to Los Angeles in which they took active part as speakers and fundraisers.

An excellent example of the *Regeneración* content on women is Ricardo Flores Magón's essay, *A La Mujer*, which has been translated and reissued by California

Chicana activists. They see in Magon's essay proof that "within our revolutionary tradition there have been serious and progressive statements on women's rights."[75] Ricardo Flores Magon encourages all women to work for revolution and change, outlining some conditions she has to fight:

> " . . . although women work more than men, they are paid less, and the misery, mistreatment and insult are today as yesterday the bitter harvest for a whole existence of sacrifice."

Women, he explains, are

> " . . . humiliated, degraded, bound by chains of tradition to an irrational inferiority, indoctrinated in the affairs of heaven by clerics, but totally ignorant of world problems. She is suddenly caught in the whirlwind of industrial production which above all requires cheap labor to sustain the competition created by the voracious 'princes of capital' who exploit her circumstances. She is not as prepared as men for the industrial struggle, nor is she organized with the women of her class to fight alongside her brother workers. . . ."[76]

It is no wonder that Chicanas from Texas to California worked zealously for continuation of PLM activities in this country. Tejana workers Margarita Endejos, Domitila Acuna Severina Garza, Maria Cisneros, Concepción

Martínez, and Carmen Lujan wrote to Ricardo Flores Magon reaffirming their support (March 4, 1911, Dallas, Texas):

> "(somos) trabajadoras emancipadas de los necias preocupacions que han tenido a la humanidad exclavizada . . . si los hombres no han abierto los ojos para ver claro, nosotros la mujeres no nos dejamos embabucar por los politicastros. Compañero Magón: duro con el burges que desea encumbrarse para tenernos a los trabajadores con el mismo yugo que por siglo hemos padecido."[77]

The women state that if the men are taken in by cheap politicians, they as women are not, for they feel liberated and they encourage Magón to deal strongly against those who have enslaved the workers. Another Texana who assisted Magon in his activities was Maria Gonzalez from San Antonio who apparently helped raise funds for the Partido.[78]

In Texas, organized efforts are recorded through the publication of a paper called La Mujer Moderna, published by Andrea and Teresa Villarreal. An organization, the feminist Club Liberal "Leona Vicacio," ostensibly an educational reform group, raised money for the PLM. The Liberal Union of Mexican Women also lent its support to the PLM.[79]

In other fronts during the early part of the century, Mexican American women from Texas were very much involved with the civil rights concerns of the time. The abrasive situation between Anglos and Chicanos was intolerable in Texas. Beatings and lynchings of Chicanos by lawmen and by irrate mobs were the order of the day. There was also the ever-present problem of segregated and inferior education for Chicanos. Liberal individuals like the journalist and editor of La Cronica, Nicasio Idar, and his daughter, Jovita Idar, a writer for the paper, felt the need to take some action on these matters. Through an extensive and well-planned communication effort, they helped organize El Primer Congreso Mexicanista scheduled in Laredo during the week of September 11-22, 1911. Workshops and general assemblies included coverage of topics such as criminal justice, workers unions, language and culture, and educational quality for Chicanos. Women received a great deal of attention apparently at the planning stages and at the Congress, for there were some outstanding women participants and eloquent speakers on the program. Hortencia Moncaya spoke on the issue of criminal justice, specifically on the frequent lynchings of Mexicanos. She received praise from the Agrupacion Protectora de San Antonio, who described her and the other active Chicanas as true descendants of Doña Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez and Leona Vicario.[80]

According to Jose Limon, who has done a great deal of research on the congress, Texas Chicanas and their specific problems held the attention of the congreso. Women in the Laredo area had been especially invited to participate. The education of women and their involvement in efforts "por la raza, y para la raza" were concepts discussed by both male and female speakers.[81]

Soledad Peña, one of the Chicana speakers, addressed herself to the issue:

> "It is necessary that all of us understand our duty and that we take a proper course of action. I, like you, believe that the best way of complying with our duty is to educate women; to instruct her and to encourage and to give her due respect."

In turn, Soledad promised that women would be true to the ideal set by Mexican heroins. They would also see to it that the children would develop intellectually and with strength and pride in their heritage.

On October 15, 1911, the same group of women who had helped organize the congreso organized a Liga Femenil Mexicanista "con el ardiente anhelo de luchar ellas tambien 'Por la Raza y Para la Raza'."

The Liga Femenil Mexicanista's officer roster includes some of the most active Chicanas in the Laredo area: Jovita Idar, President; Profa. M. J. de Leon, Vice Presidente; Profa. Soledad F. de Peña, Secretaria; Profa. Maria Renteria, Tesorera; Maria Villarreal, Consejera General; Srita. Profa. Luisa Cabrera, Vocal; Srita. Profa. Rita Tarvín, Vocal; Srita. Profa. Aurelia Rena, Vocal; and Sra. de Silva, Vocal.

The groups's first project was to hold educational sessions for Chicano children who were not in school.[82]

Chicano History, 1920

Despite the sometimes violent resistance of the late 1800s, the public protests of the first decade of the century, and the organization efforts of the Magonistas in 1904-1922, the twenties still saw the Mexicano and Mexicana at the lower end of the spectrum.

In the twenties, Chicanas and Chicanos stepped up the organization of civil rights vehicles and mutualistic protective societies in attempts to resolve some of their problems of survival. Such problems as "beneficencia" (mutual assistance from the group), burial services, health assistance, and protective activities in criminal justice kept Chicanas and Chicanos very much involved within their own communities and organizations. Some of the societies founded in this period are the Sociedad Mutualist Benito Juarez, del Centro California, organized in 1919; La Sociedad Mutualista Hidalgo in Brawley California, 1921; the Sociedad Miguel Hidalgo, Crystal City, Texas, in 1927.[83]

Other organizations of the period were La Orden de Hijos de America, established in San Antonio in 1921; Liga Protectiva Mexicana, Kansas City, 1921; and League of United Latin American Citizens formed in 1928 in Harlingen, Texas. Some of these latter named organizations were "more middle-class integrationist" societies whose purpose was to gain for Mexicanos the rights and privileges extended through the U.S. Constitution.

Rudy Acuna, who has written extensively on the development of Chicano organizations, emphasizes that "family involvement is a characteristic of most of the Chicano organizations." Some, like the Alianza Hispano Americana (Tucson, Arizona, 1894) had auxiliaries organized for women and youth. The Sociedad Funeraria Miguel Hidalgo (Crystal City, Texas) had some women who were founders, and to this day women execute important official duties as officers and committee heads. Others such as the Orden Caballeros de America, founded in the late 1920s, was organized by a Chicano activist of the period, Maria L. Hernandez and her husband Pedro Hernandez of Lytle, Texas.

In terms of labor movement activities, the organization of La Confederacion de Unions Obreras Mexicanas (CUOM) in 1927 in Los Angeles is very important to this period. This union was an effort to organize the farmworker, especially the seasonal farmworker of whom Mexicanas formed a significant percentage.[84]

Although future research will certainly reveal the other outstanding Chicanas of the period, two women thus far are identifiable for their contribution in the areas of civil rights and academics, respectively. María L. Hernández of Lytle, Texas, and Jovita González would be outstanding persons in any period, and in fact both have remained active through the 1970s.

Although La Señora María Hernández was born in Mexico, she has exerted her great mind and energies to the improvement of the Chicano community throughout her life. In 1929, Maria Hernandez and Don Pedro Hernández, her husband, founded the Orden Caballeros de America, a civic and civil rights organization. From that date to the present, they have participated in the important events of Chicano history in Texas. In a book María Hernández authored in 1945 entitled Mexico y Los Cuatro Poderes que Dirigen al Pueblo, Alonso Perales, a prominent activist of the period, describes her work enthusiastically:

MARIA L. DE HERNANDEZ
photo from her collection

> "Conozco a la Señora de Hernández y a su apreciable esposo el Sr. Pedro Hernández B. desde el año 1924, y desde esa fecha hemos laborado mutuamente en labores civico-sociales relacionadas con el progreso y el bienestar de nuestra Raza en los Estados Unidos. Tanto ella como su conyuge son incansables luchadores, siempre activos, honrados, entusiastas y sinceros.
>
> " . . . La vida de los esposes Hernández, sus esfueros en favor de los nuestros, y sus sacrificios en areas de la libertad y la democracia, han sido ejemplares."[85]

The life of this couple, says Perales, has been dedicated to our efforts, and their sacrifice to foment liberation and democracy has been exemplary. Hopefully, he says, Sra. Hernández and her husband will have many imitators of their "pro-Raza" activities, because our future development requires this.

Romula Munguia also pays tribute to Maria Hernández' great achievements in another preface to her work:

> "Es el esfuerzo inaudito, admirable signo de tomarse como ejemplo de lo que trata aqui, puesto al servicio de su raza por una luchadora, tal vez desconocida para muchos, pero enamorada de la sinceridad, deseosa de alcanzar para los suyos los beneficios de la lucha social que sacude al mundo traves de todas las edades."[86]

Although María Hernández' published work is ostensibly a work on Mexico for Mexicans, many of the ideals and hopes expressed therein reflect María Hernández' ideals for Chicanos in the U.S. and the principles she has struggled to maintain.

On Society.

> "La parte de la sociedad que mayor contingente aporta en la civilización y avance evolutivo de los pueblos y de las naciones, es el hogar. La voz autorizada de la madre, su ejemplo, y su actividad, son el primer entrenamiento en la formacion de nuestras costumbres. En el hogar nacen y toman forma nuestras primeras inclinaciones. En él se templa nuestro espiritu para afrontar los riesgos que nos ofrece la vida. Partiendo del hogar, podemos contemplar el futuro de los pueblos, porque es el hogar el que tiene, y tendra siempre a disposición de la Patria, el mas violoso tesoro: las vidas conscientes de hombres y de mujeres capaces de resolver sus propios problemas, y de cooperar en la difícil tarea de organizar los grupos que estudien la dirección que deben sequir los pueblos en su marcha evolutiva."[87]

The home, she says, is the departure point for society, for it forms our character, teaches us organization and cooperation and problem-solving.

> "La sociedad pone a prueba nuestra capacidad de ciudadanos honrados, amantes del progreso y de la justicia; es el espejo que refleja la personalidad de quienes son

> capaces de apresurar la civilizacion de los pueblos que esperan la mano de lideres sinceros y honrados. Tambien la sociedad es la que castiga la traicion cobarde de quien intenta apropvechar la fuerza unida para proteger sus conveniencias personales."[88]

Society tests our citizenship and reflects our leadership caliber. Society also punishes those who opportunistically use group effort to advance their personal aims.

On Politics. After a definition of politics, Maria Hernandez emphasizes that one should act politically to raise the public consciousness because this type of effort is owed to the family, the community and the nation.

> "La Politica es un poder organizado al que pertenecen funcionarios publicos, capitalistas, líderes sociales y jefes religiosos.
>
> "Tiene dos aspectos or finalidades: El de cuidar con celo los intereses, la integridad y bienestar común de los pueblos que esta siempre a cargo de los Gobernantes patriotas, de los intelectuales honrados, y de los líderes conscientes de su responsabilidad de ciudadanos."[89]
>
> "Debemos estar dispuestos a actuar en la política dentro del marco de acción que marca nuestro derecho. Nuestro sentido de responsabilidad política ha crecido y

en proporciones considerables; no podemos permanecer, en modo alguno, indiferentes a las exigencias planteades por la necesidad de nuestro pueblo, no solo de una actuacion política mas amplia sino del problema económico, que es el más urgente."[90]

On Business, Economics Development, and Labor

"Cobrar la energia gastada en el trabajo a su justo precio; es establecer dentro de las camaras de trabajadores las medidas financieras que aumenten núestro capital; es llevar al hogar humilde mas comodidad, es proporcionar a nuestros hijos mejores facilidades educatives, es aumentar el fondo económico que no protege de los contratiempos de la vida.

"El rico compra con dinero; nosotros con nuestro cansancio, con nuestro sudor, con nuestra propia vida. Entonces, el pueblo trabajador debe permanecer unido para juntos hacer valer su derecho: el derecho que reclame el justo precio del trabajo. La industria y la agricultura son dos fuentes de producción que necesitan el sacrificio, el esfuerzo, la constancia y el sudor de nuestros trabajadores.

"Contemplar las bodegas llenas de productos es una maravilla, pero pensar que las manos encallecidas de nuestros trabajadores no fueron bien retribuidas es algo que lastima y que necesariamente exige justas reformas."[91]

In essence, María Hernández says that workers must organize and should receive just compensation for the productivity which makes capital for others.

On Religion. Maria Hernandez makes a strong plea for rule of reason and logic in order to avoid the continuance of exploitation because of ignorance.

> "Quien no analiza tiene el peligro de permitir que se le explote lo más sagrado que tenemos: la Fé, que es el canal por el que nos acercamos a Dios. Desligarnos de la superstición, del fanatismo, y del analfabetismo es dar un paso más en el avance de la civilización, es realizar la existencia de los atributos divinos que se ocultan en nuestro ser; es acabar con los explotadores de nuestra fé cristiana, y con los curanderos y charlatanes que pretenden librarnos de fenomenos que no existen."[92]

Maria Hernández throughout her life has lived the principles of involvement she recommends for others.

In 1934 she helped organize the Liga de Defensa Escolar in San Antonio to work on segregation problems, physical facilities for Chicanitos, and for adequate textbooks and teachers. Since María Hernández has always been an eloquent orator, she has been an effective spokeswoman for community demands. In 1934, for example,

> "A committee was named to go to Austin and talk to the State Senate. Meanwhile, a meeting was organized in the patio of Lanier School in San Antonio. The State Superintendent of Schools was present. Sra. Hernández, who is well known as an orator, expressed the feelings of the community, and the Superintendent

> promised to go to Austin and see that the community was satisfied in their needs."[93]

Later on in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, Sra. María Hernández marched, protested and made hundreds of speeches before Anglo administrators and Chicano groups, calling for justice for Mexican Americans in all areas. Sra. Maria Hernandez has been an effective model and leader in the 1960s and 1970s civil rights work because through her involvement, the contemporary generation has learned the history of past involvement and progress. Most important, for women she is the living proof that Chicanas have the freedom, energy and capacity for development within the Chicano community.

Sra. Hernández' current concern has been the development of the Raza Unida Party in Texas, for which she has worked since 1970 when it was at the planning stages. Her introduction to the party came when she was a keynote speaker at a statewide Raza Unida conference in Austin, Texas in July 1970. From that time to the present, Sra. Hernández and Sr. Pedro Hernández have been strong activists and supporters for the development of the party. In 1972, despite her advanced years, for María Hernández is over 75 years old, she and her husband traveled extensively at their own expense to south and central Texas areas to speak in favor of RUP gubernatorial candidate Ramsey Muñoz and Marta Cotera, who was then RUP State Board of Education candidate. María Hernández sums her work for the Mexican American community humbly, but eloquently:

> "I feel my husband and I have worked very hard since 1924 for the betterment of our people. I feel we have not accomplished very much because of our limited resources. But when a person dedicates all his life to the movement, that in itself is worth more than money."[94]

A strong feminist all of her life, Sra. Hernández has constructive ideas on the development of women, as expressed earlier by another group of persons at the Congress Mexicanista of 1911. Invariably, as a keynote speaker or workshop leader, she points out the fact that whatever Chicanos have achieved in this country has been done through strong family unity and the strength of men and women working together.

Very appropriately, she points to Don Pedro, her husband, whom she describes as enlightened, committed and liberated in every way, and who has never done anything but to encourage her participation in the affairs of the community.

Another large figure of the 1920s and 1930s is the writer and academician, Jovita González, also a Texan. Jovita was born in Roma, Texas, and is described as a descendant of the early settlers of the area. She is recognized as one of the first Mexican Americans to write in English about the Chicano culture.

The best element about Jovita's writing is that she was very poised but frank in her writings on the relationships between Anglos and Chicanos. For her time and considering the fact that she was quite a lonely voice in scholarly circles, she was very courageous in making her assessments of existent conditions.

She is also very well known for her beautifully executed pieces on Chicano folk ways, such as the series of sketches "Among My People" recently popularized in the publication Mexican American Authors. Her other works include: "Folklore of the Texas-Mexican Vaquero" in Texas and Southwestern Lore, SMU Press, 1967; "With the Coming of the Barbed Wire Came Hunger" also in the series "Folklore of the Texas-Mexican Vaquero"; in Aztlan:

An Anthology of Mexican American Literature, Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner; "The Bullet Swallowers" and "Mexican Smugglers' Eye-View of Border Patrol" in J. Frank Dobie's Puro Mexicano. One of her sketches is about Tio Pancho Malo who is a philosopher, not "letrado," but eloquent and wise. Near the end of his days after a most productive life, he had retired to Alice, Texas, where he "eked out a living as a water carrier." The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals brought him before a local judge and accused him of ill treatment of his donkey.

> "Your Honor," he told the judge, "these good ladies have accused me of cruelty toward my donkey, saying that I make the poor skinny creature work. But these ladies have not stopped to consider that I also am poor, skinny, and have to work. The donkey and I live for each other. Without me he would starve; without him I would die of hunger. We work together, and for each other. One of us is not any good without the other. If these ladies prevent his working, both of us will starve, and that in my mind would be not only cruelty to animals but cruelty to me."

The court could do nothing but let Tio Pancho Malo go his way.[96]

She wrote extensively for the annals of the Texas Folklore Society in the 1920s. Her contribution to

Texas arts and letters was recognized when she served as president of the society in the 1930s, the first Mexican American to hold that position, and one of the few to be recognized by that body to the present.[97]

Jovita writes masterful, incisive prose which often describes Chicano traditions and values without preaching. She has intellect and wit, and "gracia" through which she elevates prosaic stories to the universal/humanistic level.

Chicana History, 1930

Concerning Chicanas and the 1930s decade, anthropologist Ralph Guzman makes this commentary:

> "With the growth of the feminist movement in the U.S., attention turned to the plight of the Chicano woman who was believed to be completely submissive to the whims and wishes of the male. According to this notion, the freedom that American women enjoyed was incomprehensible and bewildering to Chicanas. To the militant feminist, Chicanas were stark reminders of an archaic social system where the males possessed absolute authority. Unfamiliar with the English language and long conditioned to be a life of personal sacrifice, Chicanas apparently were not recruited by the feminist movement of this era. However, a few Chicanas became involved in proto-typical protest movement."[98]

Guzman proceeds to quote Ruth Allen, the same author who wrote so disparagingly about migrant women, and who both pitied and upbraided the Mexican woman for her submission to the male and family, especially for turning over her meager earnings for the use of the family. Ironically, at the very time that Ruth Allen wrote her impressions on Mexican American women, they were struggling in a life and death battle to improve their working conditions in the fields and the factories of the United States. Others with María Hernández struggled and protested so that children could receive quality, nonsegregated education, and escape the fate that condemned them to live in the filth described by Ruth Allen.

In the garment industry in the 1930s, Chicanas, who comprised at least one-third of the work force, took an active role in improving their situation. The development of the International Ladies Garment Union in Texas is largely due to the bodies and dues which Chicanas provided for strikes, and salaries for organizers. Detailed and ethnic-oriented study of this union is needed to establish whether or not the persistent use of Anglo women as organizers, instead of Chicanas or Blacks, kept the union from establishing a more successful record in Texas. Historians have established the fact that San Antonio organizer Rebecca Taylor was generally disliked and distrusted by the Chicana workers she attempted to organize.

One incident of misunderstanding was recorded in Laredo, Texas, where the ILGW had a fairly active union, Loval 350, serviced by Sara Ligarde. Apparently trouble between members and the Anglo organizer Elizabeth Kimmel developed after she referred to the Chicana members as "stubborn as mules," which she considered a mild reprimand, not realizing that the term "mula" is a very crude term in the Spanish language.

Despite these problems, the IGLW managed a three-week strike by garment workers, mostly Chicanas, in Houston, Texas.[99]

Other fields like agribusiness continued to recruit Chicana workers. And Chicanas, like Chicanos, continued as they had in the previous decades to advocate for improved salaries and working conditions. Ernesto Galarza, labor historian, has called the 1929-1933 period "the most active period in agribusiness labor organizing."

Women were so much a part of the organizing and strikes effort that the whole period is very reminiscent of the 1910 Mexican Revolution and the participation of women. If women were in the labor camps and in the fields with their mates and babies, they were there for the picketing and strikes. When 15,000 farmworkers joined the already ongoing strike near Visalia, California, in 1933, there was much violence recorded. On

October 10, 1933, near Visalia, the farmers/growers retaliated by setting an ambush as workers left a strikers meeting. They shot into the crowd and killed Delfino Dávila and Dolores Hernández.[100]

Texas women also left their imprint in the 1930s period. In the pecan-shelling industries in San Antonio, Texas, on February 1, 1938, thousands of shellers walker off their jobs in 130 plants because of a one-cent-per-pound reduction in the rates paid. At least 80% of the workers were Chicanas who, in addition to low rates, worked in dismal, unsanitary conditions.

The ACAPAWA Union intervened to organize the workers, and the authorities reacted violently because of the Union's alleged communist influence over San Antonio's westside.

> "Special target for the authorities was Mrs. Emma Tenayuca Brooks, a fierly little Mexican woman, about twenty years old, who was a leader among the strikers and allegedly an admitted communist. Although the union leadership replaced her, the attacks continued."[101]

Many of the women strikers were thrown into jail and kept there in deplorable conditions. As many as thirty-three women were packed into cells. The strike was decided in favor of the strikers, but very soon thereafter the management mechanized, throwing thousands of men and women off jobs.[102]

In civil rights activities, Chicano organizations continued their efforts to establish networks and nationwide communication. A Chicana, Luisa Moreno, was very instrumental in these efforts. She was the principal organizer for the Congreso de Pueblos de Habla Española, possibly the first national nonunion Chicano conference to be held in the United States. The conference was held in 1938 in Los Angeles, California. Because of Luisa Moreno's travel throughout the United States to promote the conference, there was great interest generated and the conference was most successful.

Luisa Moreno, in addition to her work with the Congreso, had also been actively involved in the peçan-shellers strike in San Antonio, Texas. She was also a leader and national organizer for the United Cannery, Agricultural and Packing Workers of America. Regrettably, she was among those Chicano activists deported in the early 1950s.[103]

The 1930s decade closes in relation to Chicana activity with the first Annual Mexican Girls Conference sponsored by the UWCA in Los Angeles, California, September 30, 193-. The theme of the conference was "Progress Through Education."[104]

Chicana History, 1940

The war period, at least in the southwestern border areas, opened up more opportunities for Chicanas, as usual, at the lower occupational levels. As Anglo women went to work, more Chicanas went into domestic work. Undoubtedly, there was more work than ever in the agribusiness, and in Texas the border was discovered by eastern garment firms who doubled their garment plant locations in cities like El Paso and San Antonio, hiring at least 80% of their labor force from the pools of cheap Chicana labor.

While husbands, sons, and brothers died overseas, the most disruptive action yet against the Chicano community occurred. Women, as well as men, were the target of the crazed violence perpetuated against the Chicano community in Los Angeles, California. The famous zoot-suit riots, where the youth, women and children were under siege by sailors, civilians and law enforcement officers, has been fully discussed by Rudy Acuna in The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation and Carey McWilliams' North From Mexico. Supposedly the riots against Chicanos began when Chicano youth reacted to sailors' attempts at picking up some Chicanas. Women, of course, were directly involved as hundreds of civilians and military men moved into the neighborhoods to "teach the pachucos/soot-suitors a lesson." Carey McWilliams says that

> " . . . during the rioting, one Los Angeles newpaper had published a story to the effect that the cholitas and pachucas were cheap prostitutes, infected with venereal disease and addicted to the use of marihuana. Eighteen Mexicans replied in a letter which the metropolitan press refused to publish."[105]

The letter read:

> "The girls in this room consist of young girls who graduated from high school as honor students, of girls who are now working in defense plants because we want to help win the war, and of girls who have brothers, cousins, relatives and sweethearts in all branches of the American Armed Forces. We have not been able to get our side of the story told."

The letter was published in the Eastside Journal on June 16, 1943.[106]

Then another group of women, "the real pachucas," bitterly protested the story in another letter which the metropolitan press didn't publish. The girls insisted they should be examined as a group by an officially appointed board of physicians so that they could prove they were virgins.[107]

Still other problems for the community in the forties were the correctional schools for girls, which seemingly arbitrarily removed them from their families and put them into custodial care. The Ventura School for Girls in California became the "home away from home" for many Chicanitas removed from their families without hearings. There were many complaints recorded against the school.[108]

Rudolfo Acuna, in his documentation of Chicano movement history in the U.S., records that the 1940s were slow times for action because many of the male activists joined the Armed Forces and were thus removed from the scene. Women too became preoccupied with new jobs and greater opportunities to move into positions previously closed to them.

There is, however, one person whose activities continued unabated in the 1940s. Isabel Malagram Gonzales from New Mexico and Colorado, whose work had begun with labor organizing in the 1930s, became a nationally known advocate in 1946 when she attempted to testify before officials of the War Food Administration and was refused.[109]

Isabel Malagran Gonzales was born on October 12, 1910. She was educated in New Mexico at the A&M College in Las Cruces, New Mexico. In New Mexico Isabel organized and led the first strike ever by Pea Workers, and also a demonstration against the Welfare Department in Santa Fe.

In 1930 she moved to Denver, Colorado, and worked for the Colorado Tuberculosis Society. In this capacity she continued to work tirelessly for welfare, health and educational reforms. She was apparently an eloquent speaker in both English and Spanish, and a talented writer. She is listed as contributing writer and editor for Challenge, a progressive paper published in Colorado in the 1940s.

Isabel was apparently not shy of politics, for she ran on an independent ticket for City Councilwoman in Denver. Some of her other political activities included serving as National President of the Friends of Wallace organization, a post to which she was elected at the Progressive Party's National Convention in 1948. She was also a participant at the Progressive Party convention in Philadelphia, and was a delegate to the founding conference for the Asociacion Mexicana Americana in Tucson, Arizona.

On another occasion she, David Bravo and Vicente Vigil were elected to speak for the beetworkers in Salt Lake City, Utah. With great difficulties they made the trip only to be refused as witnesses. Finally, after great effort, their testimony was heard by the War Food Administration.

According to her biographer, Vicente Vigil, Isabel had great commitment for the development of the Mexican American. She was particularly interested in the plight of the farmworker, and she was a strong advocate for women's rights. Vigil says that

> " . . . she insisted and demanded that women's role within the movement be clarified, because to quote her own statement, 'It is time that we cease to consider Mexican women as slaves to men. It is time she takes her place as his equal on all levels'."[110]

In the late forties after a marriage tc Carlos Gonzales, Isabel worked in northern New Mexico where she taught school and continued to work for revolutionary reforms in the schools. Near the end of the decade she returned to Denver, Colorado, where she died on May 31, 1949, at the age of thirty-nine.

> "Isabel Magran Gonzáles fue un ejemplo que debe imitar toda mujer chicana y en cada uno de nuestros corazones y en cada hogar Mexicano debemos de reservar un riconcito para rendir culto y esta chicana luchadora y revolucionaria."[111]

Vigil urges the entire community to render homage to this dedicated woman who was a model of revolutionary zeal and commitment for the Chicano cause.

Chicano History, 1950

The decade of the 1950s has been considered pretty much of a barren period in the development of the Chicano community. Fear of the repressive politics ushered in by McCartheism and the McCarran-Walter Act, which was aimed at noncitizens and naturalized citizens, made many leaders bide their time. The deportation of Luisa Moreno, Frank Corona, and Antonio Salgado exemplified the potential danger to reformers of the period. Despite this fact, we find Chicanas continuing to make history in sporadic labor strikes. Gregoria Montalbe and Sophia Gonzales were union leaders who were active during the 1959 strike against Tex-Son, a San Antonio, Texas garment plant organized by the ILGU.

> "The strike, accompanied by rioting and rough police tactics, attracted nationwide headlines. On the second day, one woman was injured and six arrested after the ladies swung purses, threw eggs, cursed, kicked, pulled hair, scratched and clawed, according to patrolman Manuel Garza. Harold Frankel (the Tex-Son owner) was splattered by an egg. Later, spectacular pictures of Mrs. Ofelia Bowers being subdued by three policemen added to the headlines. . . . "[112]

Other women working through LULAC and GI forum auxiliaries certainly pushed the community forward during these troubled and repressive times. The efforts of Isabel Verver, a 17-year old high school graduate, should be recognized. Isabel opened a school in Ganado, Texas, financed by Felix Treviño, a LULAC Dallas businessman who wanted to see Chicano preschool children prepared for first grade. The school opened in 1957 with 45 students, taught by Isabel Verver. The experiment was so successful that by 1960 the Texas Education Agency had picked up the program and funded 614 special classes in 136 school districts. The total enrollment then was 15,500 children.[113]

With the GI Forum, Mrs. Margarita Simon, an activist to this day, edited El Democrata, a community newspaper in Austin, Texas. Mrs. Simon's activities have since included law enforcement problems, health, Chicano special festivities and recently (1974) she was one of the founders of a new civic organization in Austin, Texas, the Mexican American Business and Professional Women of Austin (MABPWA).

Analysis of communities generally shows that women, through mutualistic societies, low-key efforts such as LULAC, GI Forum and church organizations, continued to push for progress and improvement in the community. Often, at the minimum, they helped maintain strong cultural identities through the planning and execution of elaborate May 5th and September 16th parades, bailes, actos civicos and jamaicas. Many of these older women provided the backbone for the civic and political organizations organized or reactivated in the 1960s and 1970s, such as Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) or PASSO. Every organization, every march, every effort regardless of how radical it was, in the 1960s had its cadre of these seasoned, stalwart women, whose commitment has been proved in the lives of women like Sra. Maria Hernandez and Margarita Simon.

It is significant also that the 1950s marks the filming of the historic and controversial film, "Salt of the Earth" in Silver City, New Mexico. This movie about the contributions of women to the strike efforts of miners has been utilized extensively in community organization efforts in the past two decades.

Unfortunately, the movie apparently was threatening to the status quo in the 1950s, and Rosaura Revueltas, the film actress involved with the film, was arrested and deported on February 25, 1953.[114]

Chicana History, 1960

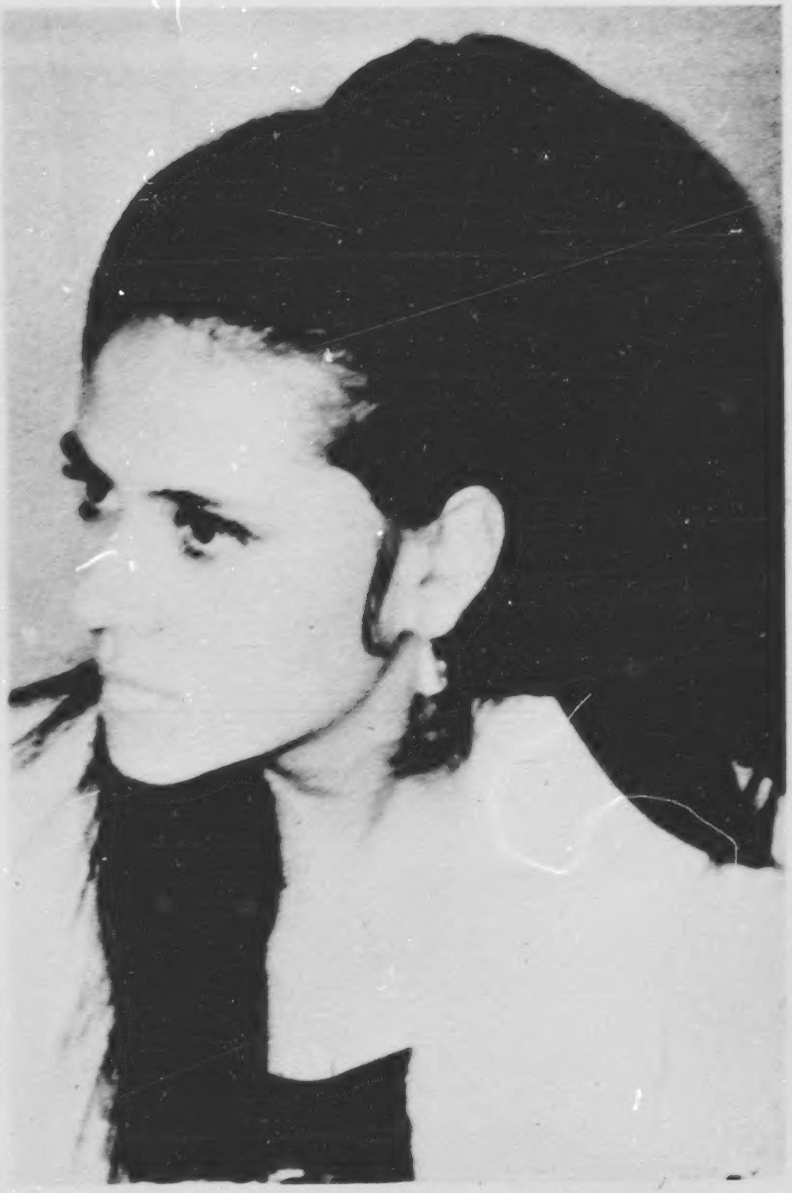
The 1960s decade is considered one of the most significant periods in Chicano and Chicana history. Primarily, as Acuna expresses, the 50-year-long pilgrimage to the cities stabilized, and Chicanos finally had some community roots as urban dwellers. Secondly, the U.S. Census publicized what the community knew; the Chicanos were the second largest minority in the country. Cultural pluralism had to become a reality if minorities were to survive at all. The census also showed that at least 85% of the Chicano community was native born. Most important, the census portrayed the sad plight of the nation's second largest minority, its dismal socio-economic condition.

Although historians are slow to credit the bureaucratic programs of the sixties with any positive results, the Elementary and Education Act of 1965, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and the Equal Opportunity Commission at least provided a sprinkling of visible positions nationally for Chicanos and Chicanas who then served as contact persons to augment federal funds and develop new program practices for Mexicanos.

One startling example of this type of effect is the increase in funding for ESEA Title I Migrant funds from under ten million in 1966 to over ninety million appropriated in 1975.

This bureaucratic activity in the sixties should also be credited with the academic development of many men and women who received veteran benefits, ESEA fellowships for education and the social sciences. Chicano bureaucratic development, although not proportionate in numbers to the population at large, has helped establish a bureaucracy which is mobil, with telephone watts privileges, paper clips and other elements which have helped establish better communication and support systems for community development throughout the states.

One of the best results of all this is that Chicanos and Chicanas have had catalysts in local, state and federal governments to begin in the seventies to "crack the system," to learn funding strategies, contracting, and the establishment of vehicles and institutions which work in the community with public funds. This, as far as is known, is a new phenomenon in Chicano community development history.



CECILIA PRECIADO BURCIAGA

In this catalyst role, especially in the area of education, there were many Chicanas who played dual roles as government personnel developing new programs, and as community advocates who incorporated their sensitivity and knowledge into useful government information and program efforts to benefit the Chicano community.

Outstanding among these persons are Cecilia Cosca and Cecilia Preciado Burciaga, both from El Paso, Texas. The two women were recruited by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Mexican American Study Project, to develop what was to become the most comprehensive study ever conducted on the education of status of Mexican Americans in the U.S. During the multi-year project, Cecilia Cosca and Cecilia Preciado helped produce the classic CRC reports: Ethnic Isolation of Mexican Americans in the Public School of the Southwest; The Unfinished Education: Outcomes for Minorities in the Five Southwestern States; The Excluded Student: Educational Practices Affecting Mexican Americans in the Southwest; Mexican American Education in Texas: A Function of Wealth;

and the final report, Toward Quality Education for Mexican Education.

The role of the two Chicanas and the other Chicano staff at the CRC is important because for the first time local districts and campuses were required to report current information by ethnicity. In addition to this, they served an important role as resource persons to community advocates seeking educational information and recourse under the Civil Rights Commission guidelines.

Lupe Anguiano also served as an important federal resource person in the sixties in her capacity as a program officer with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. By 1969 Lupe had many years of community work and advocacy, including close involvement with the most important events in the decade, the Grape Boycott by the UFWOC (United Farmworkers Organizing Committee) and Reyes Tijerina, civil rights leader from New Mexico.

As an HEW federal program officer, Lupe was very effective in securing funds and Washington, D.C. contacts for community groups throughout the U.S.

Besides professional assistance, Lupe often provided shelter, food and transportation to community persons with limited means who were in Washington seeking funding for their communities. Without this type of resource and assistance, 90% of the community-based migrant, health and manpower programs would not be there now.

Lupe Anguiano is important to the Chicana and the federal bureaucracy for her efforts in the late sixties and early seventies in making HEW more responsive to women's needs. Eventually, she was transferred to HEW's Woman's Action Program where she assisted in laying the groundwork toward a responsive minority woman's program effort. She was the organizer and prime mover for the historic Spanish-Speaking Women's National Consultation on July 1-2, 1972, where detailed priorities both for research and action projects were spelled out by Chicanas. Lupe is also one of the founders of the National Chicana Foundation.

The sixties then were a time when the Chicano community pressured and received some direct financial and legal assistance to solve some pressing problems in education and welfare. In other areas and despite the government's interest in the Mexican American, the community stepped up its participation in national issues such as the anti-war efforts. Events like the major school walkouts in Los Angeles, 1968-1970, and Crystal City, 1969, seemed to indicate that education continued to be a pressing problem. Labor activity continued at the same pace as previous decades, but with the improved communication and media of the sixties, the UFWOC Grape Boycott attracted national support and eventually a successful outcome.

One outstanding factor in the sixties which seems to have been missing heretofore is the new politicized community, aroused by the "Viva Kennedy" organizations in 1962 to the same level that only Franklin D. Roosevelt had achieved with the Mexican American before. After Viva Kennedy came PASSO and MAPA, Mexican American Political Association. Then in 1969, the organizational stages of the Raza Unida Party, a third party which is viewed as a political alternative to the two existing parties.

Chicanas were actively involved with every historic event from 1960-1970. Dolores Huerta with the UFWOC was active as early as 1960 as legislative resource person and lobbyist; Virginia Muzquiz, one of the founders of Raza Unida in Texas became involved in Crystal City with the initial political activity which put Mexicanos politically in power prior to 1963. In 1963 the Chicanos there were sufficiently politically organized to take the local city council election with the assistance of women like Virginia Muzquiz. In 1964 Virginia ran for State Representative, District 67, possibly the first Texas Chicana ever to run for a legislature seat. Two high school students, Jose Angel Gutierrez (RUP founder) and Juan Ptlan, were her campaign managers. Virginia Muzquiz was unsuccessful in her first bid for public office and in 1965 she tried again in the race for Crystal City, Texas City Council.

Virginia Muzquiz sustained her community and political activities through the sixties, which culminated in 1969 with the Crystal City schools boycott organized and led by Jose Angel Gutierrez and some active Chicana students like Diana Serna and Severita

Lara. Virginia Muzquiz, Juanita Santos, Luz Gutierrez and Elena Diaz were among the hundreds of women who supported the striking students during the terribly cold walkout days in December 1969. Virginia Muzquiz became Zavala County's first RUP County Chairwoman. She had gained so much knowledge in politics and the legalities of party structures by 1972 that she was considered an expert in election law by the Texas Secretary of State's office. In 1974, her dreams of serving as an elected official were realized with her election as Zavala County Clerk. Five other Chicanas now serve in elected positions in Zavala County. Virginia Muzquiz is also one of the founders and most active supporters of the Mujeres Pro-Raza Unida organization in Texas.[115]

In the field of welfare rights, Alicia Escalante in Los Angeles, California took the leading role as organizer of the East Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organization in 1967. She also worked actively in the "Save Medi-Cal Campaign," and was sponsored by a church organization to go on a worldwide study/tour of nutrition and hunger problems for poor people throughout the year.

Alicia, in the past two decades, has been an eloquent and influential voice for humanistic treatment of welfare recipients. She actively worked for welfare mothers' rights in opposing the Welfare 1973 Talamadge Amendments.

Because Alicia felt that the National Welfare Rights Organization did not respond effectively to Chicano concerns, she has organized and maintained an alternative organization, the Chicano National Welfare Rights Organization, with chapters in major cities and in many states.[116]

An important organizing strategy of the decade was the development of an active group of Chicano community newspapers which mushroomed throughout the country and which maintained informal communications through the Chicano Press Association. Women journalists in the tradition of Jovita Idar (1910) and Belen Gutierrez from Mexico assumed an important function. Two of the most outstanding are Nuevo Mexicanas Betita Martinez and Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez, editors of El Grito del Norte (1968-1973), Española, New Mexico. El Grito among the entire collection of newspapers had the distinction of being the most sophisticated and comprehensive in its coverage of Chicano and other Third World people. It accomplished much in raising Chicano consciousness about the war and other social issues including feminism.

Another outstanding journalist from the period is Francisca Flores, editor of Regeneración, Los Angeles, founded in the late sixties. She is still the editor of this journal, which from the beginning addressed itself to issues of special concern to women and the family: child care legislation, welfare, social security and women's political development. Regeneración is still edited by Francisca Flores and in the past two years very excellent issues have been totally dedicated to Chicana issues, history and accomplishments.

Although there was tremendous activities in all aspects of civil rights in every Chicano community in the nation, massive efforts centered around these four centers: Mexican American Youth Organization and Raza Unida Party development in Texas, already discussed; the Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado; La Alianza de Los Pueblos Libres, with Reyes Tijerina in New Mexico; and the UFWOC in California, already discussed.

The Crusade for Justice, a community institution established in Denver, Colorado by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez, centered around the total family involvement in community civil rights activities. Women have always been the core of the center's fundraising political and education activities, with Helen Gonzalez, Corky's wife, taking a major role as coordinator and general marshal since the sixties when the Crusade for Justice was established. Women, aged 5 to 85, are involved in all phases of the operation.

The Alianza movement in New Mexico centered around the return of Chicano lands to the communities which originally held them, and kept Reyes Tijerina and many New Mexicans active from 1966 on. Again, in the physical struggles, including camp-ins in federal lands and picketing, women of all ages have taken part. On On June 8, 1969, Patricia Tijerina set a "historic" fire. During the picketing against the U.S. National Park Service, she "set fire to two Forest Service signs" in protest against U.S. occupation of Raza land. This became an important issue used by the authorities against Reyes and the movement. By the end of the 1960 decade, Chicanos built on the base previously erected by the organizations in the past, and at least four major centers of activity were identified: Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, and Colorado. They had a growing, more aware middle-class bureaucracy; and they had many wise women, veterans from the Chicano struggles, aware and ready to come out of the "movement kitchen" and to multiply the Muzquiz, Flores' and Huerta's many times over in the present decade.

CHAPTER II

FOOTNOTES

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III. Chicanas in the U.S., A Socioeconomic Profile

General Characteristics

Mexican American women are the second largest group of minority women in this country, second only to Black women. Proportionately, their 3,196,000 population figure represents a 58% portion of the total Spanish surname origin population in the U.S. Although 85% of the Chicanas are shown as living in the five southwestern states, the U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau figures show that Mexican American women reside and work in every state in the union, including Alaska. Chicanas, like Chicanos, are predominantly urban dwellers. The U.S. Census for 1970 indicates that 85% of all Chicanos live in urban areas. The census likewise shows that the great majority of the Mexican American male and female population is native born. For example, among the children 19 years of age and under, 92% were born in this country. The newly arrived immigrants have tended to settle in the Far West and Midwest, so that states like California and Illinois have higher percentages of foreign born among their total Chicano population.[1] (See also Appendix, Table I)

The median age for Chicanas in this country is 19.6, or ten years younger than the national median age for all women. Rural Mexican American women have 18.1 years median age.

> "The relatively greater youth of the rural Mexican American women compared to the rural Mexican American men (18.8 median age) can be attributed to a number of factors. Of those older Mexican Americans who follow the migrant stream, more are male than female. In some cases the wives and families of these migrants remain in urban barrios. . . .
>
> "The harshness of rural life has resulted in fewer rural Mexican American women surviving to advanced years."[2]

Education. Educational accomplishments of the Mexican American woman are lower than the tragically low achievements for Mexican American males.

> "The median educational attainment of the Mexican American female (9.1 years) is three years behind that for the entire female population (12.1), but only 0.3 years behind that for the Mexican American male (9.4). Almost half of all Mexican American women 16 years old and over did not go beyond the eighth grade. In comparison only a quarter of all women in the United States have not gone beyond the eighth grade."[3]

Unfortunately, the 1970 Census statistics do not show any relief in sight for improving the achievement levels for Chicanas. Enrollment data shows that only 83% of Chicanas ages 14-17 are enrolled in school. By comparison, the national average for all women, same ages, is 92%. Chicanas are leaving school at a greater rate than the males. Thus, the government sees that

> "Since fewer girls are staying in school to complete high school, the cycle of poverty resulting from inadequate education, inadequate job skills, the resulting low incomes will continue."[4]

Mexican American women are also not doing too well at the college level. In the U.S. nationally, 27% of the women, ages 18-24 are enrolled in school, primarily college. By comparison, only 18% of the Chicanas in this age group are enrolled in schools. This results then in the 1.4% college graduate rate for Mexican American women.[5]

Employment Status. The labor force participation rate for Mexican American women is 36%, or 5% lower than the 41% national rate for all women in the U.S. This figure includes the 29% of all Mexican American wives who work. This last figure is considered a very low rate of labor force participation as compared to the 39% level of participation by all wives in the U.S.[6] Manpower experts have related this low level of labor force participation to these factors:

> "Mexican American women tend to have larger families and to stay at home at least until their children are grown . . . this has contributed to their lags in education and acquisition of English-language skills; important factors in successful labor force participation."[7]

Further, although Mexican American males' unemployment rates for the 1970s have hovered at 8% and above, Mexican American women have not raised their labor force participation. Manpower experts explain this fact:

> " . . . the economic pressures on women to work have been countered by the traditional role of women as homemakers, the large size of the average family, and probably also the womens' low earning potential."[8]

Chicanos knowledgeable in manpower issues are apt to blame primarily the low earning potential. And they often add three other factors as discouraging to Chicanas wanting to enter the labor force: the high unemployment rate for Chicanas, which since 1970 has hovered at 9% and 10%; the absence of adequate child care services. For example, Chicanas in Austin, Texas, testified to the fact that the traditional hours for child care services, 6:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., Monday-Friday, do not consider the needs of the minority woman who must work any and all hours of available shifts and weekends, if necessary. The third discouraging factor concerns the low occupational status for Chicanas, since a high 26% of all employed Chicanas are service workers and another 26% are in craftsmen categories. (See Table on Employment)

Yolanda Nava, a Californian long involved in Chicana manpower concerns, has spoken extensively about the high percentage of Chicanas seeking employment unsuccessfully. Specifically, she has said that Chicanas over 35 years of age are not successful in getting Manpower On-the-Job training positions because public and private employers will not make commitments to hire them.

Another severe problem discussed by Yolanda Nava is in the area of employment qualifying exams, such as the state and federal Civil Service exams. These, she feels, are inadequate for testing true potential for ability to do a job, and, in addition, they tend to be discriminatory because they are relevant only to white middle-class applicants.

Yolanda Nava and other Chicanas such as advocate Francisca Flores speak strongly about Chicanas and employment:

> "Figures for the Chicana Service Center and the Neighborhood Youth Corps programs indicate that Chicanas want to work, want to provide for themselves and their families, want to be independent and self-reliant. All we have to do is work toward eliminating the barriers."[9]

Some of the recommendations which Nava advocates for improving Chicanas' employment situation are:

1. Improvement of the child care situation for Chicanas.

2. Establishing training programs with educational components including academic skills programs with English and Spanish language skills and individualized instruction; and incorporating O.J.T. components for government and private sector jobs, with tax incentives to industry for training and hiring. Further, the government agencies should waive the Civil Service Exam for trainees qualified in their jobs. Training programs should include strong counseling and supportive services components.

3. Establishing a legislative clearinghouse to disseminate information to women, including the Chicanas.

4. Enactment of minimum wage laws for household and farm workers; provide for overtime payment for them, and for other job categories such as motel / hotel worker, food service workers and farm workers.

5. States should enforce the Age Discrimination in Employment Acts of 1967 for women 40-65 years old.

6. Legislation should be introduced to protect from dismissals persons who file complaints on discrimination in employment.[10]

The relationship between education and employment is summarized in the following statement by a U.S. Health, Education and Welfare report:

> "The low education rates of the Mexican American females are further reflected in their employment status by occupational category. The proportion of the total U.S. female population employed in professional and managerial occupations (20%) is two and one-half times greater than the proportion of Mexican American women so employed. Without improving her educational status, the Mexican American female cannot hope to lift herself from the low status occupations."[11]

(See also Appendix, Tables II and III)

Income. To appreciate the full impact of the Chicanas' meager earnings, one must keep in mind that she shares a bad situation with her male counterpart, since 43% of all Mexican American males age 16 and over earn an annual income of less than $4,000, and only 10% of the Mexican American men have incomes of $10,000 or more compared to 25% for Anglo males.

Among Mexican American women, 79% earn under $4,000 a year, and only 1% have incomes of $10,000 a year or more. For rural Mexican American women, the percentage who earn under $4,000 a year is 89%. It is generally agreed that Mexican American women's low income is a consequence of their high concentration in low-paying operative and service occupations.[12]

Mexican American Migrant and Farmworker Women

Four percent of all Mexican American women in the U.S. are in farm-related occupations. "This is the highest proportion for women in any group nationally."[13] Despite this, and the fact that millions of dollars in federal funding are provided for migrant women-related programs, there is relatively little visible information by and about migrant and farmworker women. Yet this occupation has been the entry point for many Chicanos and Chicanas in this nation, as one writer points out:

> "Among the first occupations that Chicanos filled in the United States in this century was that of migrant agricultural laborer. Work in many crops, especially those that required large amounts of hand labor, was done by the entire Chicano family. This is one of the aspects of migrant labor that causes it to be regarded as a scandal whenever it is discussed in public or in the media. It is somehow exceptionally shocking when women and children are exploited along with men. Women who have to work in the fields along with their families also have no time, for example, to care for small children; even infants are taken into the fields. Women also are expected to care for their homes (wherever that may be), cook meals, wash clothes and perform other household duties after working in the fields all day."[14]

MIGRANT WORKER
photo byBill Cronin, Geneseo Migrant Center

Paul Taylor, who studied Mexican labor in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, found that in the cultivation and harvesting of some crops, including sugar beets, statistics have been compiled to indicate how much work an employer can expect a woman to do in a day, as well as how much they should expect from a man or a child. In onions, one crop that Taylor studied, women were able to perform more cultivating and harvesting than men. Although men were usually paid more than women, Taylor does not mention whether in this case women were paid equally (or possibly more) for doing more work.[15]

Unfortunately, the few visible sources date back to the 1930s and are replete with the period's prevailing "Mexicans as a problem" thesis, which eventually led to the mass expatriation of thousands of native-born Mexican Americans. One of the period's best known studies is Ruth Allen's The Labor of Women in the Production of Cotton, which was published by the University of Texas in 1931, and which analyzed the living standard conditions, productivity and general socioeconomic situation for Central Texas Anglo, Black and Chicana migrant and farmworker women. This study takes a hard look at the Mexican American farmworker woman, her living style, her contributions to society, versus the desirability of letting her remain in this country. The study indicates that at least 48% of the women surveyed were native-born, but when the summarizing statements are made, this fact does not seem to be considered relevant.

Ruth Allen describes the living conditions for Mexican American farmworker women as pitiful.

> "One of these groups consisting of thirty people lived in a house of five rooms. There was no furniture save the stove which was unusable. . . . The beds were made of piles of dirty rags, which in the daytime are piled in the corner. One young woman with her two babies and her husband had a corner of a toolshed for their cooking. . . . Otherwise, they lived out of doors."[16]

Allen also documented the versatility of the Mexican American farmworker woman who worked in jobs which Blacks and Anglos did not touch. Chicanas picked cotton, chopped and did the hoeing. They also baled hay, plowed and cut feed. Their working day averaged over nine hours, and the Chicana casual worker (seasonal) worked for longer periods of time and covered a wider circuit than the Black farmworker women.

Despite this, and the fact that Mexican American farmworker women had much larger families to care for, Allen is subtly critical of their not assuming more "heavy" work at home, such as canning and preserving foods, activities which she considers as evidence that the women are absorbing new (higher) standards of living.[17]

She does credit the Chicana farmworker women for their love of beauty and music, but after all is said and done, and despite the fact that 48% of the women surveyed were native born, she comments:

> " . . . what will be the effect of these Mexican American women upon a society which is willing to exploit their ignorance, their helplessness, their lack of the 'American standard of living,' their willingness to bear large families? The cotton civilization was built upon the ignorance of an ignorant and helpless race; and one can only marvel at the temerity of a people, who faced with the gravest problem of all history, insist upon the addition of still a third element, alone in spirit and unassimilable socially."[18]

> " . . . from these Mexican peon women comes cheap labor for the farm and factory. With them we can raise cotton, cheap cotton."[19]

But, at the risk of lowering the entire country's standards, for Allen sees the Mexican American migrant woman as beyond change:

> "It would appear, then, that the Mexican woman has a willingness to accept a lower standard of living than either the Negro or the American White."[20]

The migrant woman today has not been subjected to this type of detailed analysis, and for this reason only she knows that the situation is basically the same. Regardless of the standard of living she establishes in her homebase, she is still subject to whatever housing conditions and working conditions are provided wherever she must go with her family to work. In a recent GAO report entitled The Impact of Federal Programs to Improve the Living Conditions of Migrant and Other Seasonal Farmworkers, the government itemizes some of the worst problems faced by the migrant and farmworker family.

Manpower. By the year 1975, 200,000 migrant and other seasonal farmworkers were no longer needed to harvest fruits and vegetables, according to a detailed study of the effects of mechanical harvesting prepared by the Michigan State University. And USDA officials estimated that technological advances will cause 800,000 fewer farmworkers to be employed in all fields of agriculture in 1975. The U. S. Department of Labor was requested to increase its efforts toward retraining farmworkers and to provide national direction and leadership in planning, initiating and coordinating federally sponsored training programs for migrant and other seasonal farmworkers.[21]

Child Labor. Federal and state child labor laws prohibit employment of children only during school hours or in hazardous occupations. In 1970, there were approximately 800,000 children under 17 years of age employed in agriculture. And 38% of the estimated 196,000 migrant farmworkers were between ages 14 and 17.[22]

Education. In 1970, the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity reported that 63% of all migrants were 16 years old or younger; and an HEW report also in 1970 reported that 90% of the migrant children never finish high school. Average grade level achievement for migrant farmworkers is fourth or fifth grade.

Health. In 1970, a Field Foundation study on the migrant health situation reported in public testimony that

> "The children we saw that day have no future in our society. Malnutrition since birth has already impaired them physically, mentally and emotionally. They do not have the capacity to engage in the sustained physical or mental effort which is necessary to succeed in school, learn a trade, or assume full responsibilities of citizenship in a complex society such as ours."[23]

Housing. To summarize the housing problems for migrant families, both their home-base housing and "on the stream" accommodations do not meet minimum health and safety standards. Washington State Council of Churches housing study indicated that housing conditions in migrant camps contribute to poor health problems. Toilet and washing facilities were unsanitary; they had inadequate garbage storage; poor ventilation for fly screening. Most migrant families had no place to keep fresh food.[24]

Public Assistance Program. The U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity reported to GAO that because of factors related to mobility and residency requirements, migrants have limited opportunities to participate in federal and state-administered programs. Some of these are essential (survival type) programs, such as food stamps, welfare, surplus food commodities, federal job training and child care.[25]

Farmworker and Migrant Women, Roles and Attitudes. Chicana farmworker and migrant women have always been a strong force in efforts to improve their living and working conditions in this country. Some of the most outstanding farm-related labor organizing efforts and activities have had the overwhelming participation of the working woman. In some cases the women have provided direct leadership to the efforts.

In the pecan shelling industries in San Antonio and the surrounding regions, Chicanas have suffered extremely poor working conditions and miserable salaries. On many occasions they have led strikes as well as more peaceful efforts to negotiate improvements in the industry. In fact, the

> ". . . largest and most militant strike of the 1930s was led by Chicanas in the pecan shelling industry in San Antonio. On February 1, 1930, several thousand shellers, 80% of whom were Chicanas, walked off their jobs in

> protest of a wage cut. Emma Tenayuca . . . was a popular leader of the strike. During the four-month strike she would speak in the streets to crowds of hundreds of workers and supporters."[26]

In the 1973 pecan shellers strike in Hondo, Texas, again the women workers led the strike efforts and sat with arbiters at the negotiating tables.

In organizing the agricultural fields, since the 1930s women have had a strong hand, and Dolores Huerta, United Farmworkers Union Vice President, has always acknowledged the contribution in commitment and time that women, with their entire families, have made to the movement.

Women with the United Farmworkers Union have achieved positions of leadership. Dolores Huerta serves as Vice President of the union, and as Cesar Chavez' chief negotiator. Mrs. Elena Chavez is the credit union manager for the union, Gloria Soto is in charge of services, and Esther Uranday serves as membership manager.

The dignity and strength of the farmworker woman is exemplified in this testimony presented before a

DOLORES HUERTA
photo by Eduardo Calderon

state commission in California by Maria Moreno, migrant and United Farmworkers Union organizer.

> "I am María Moreno, 40 years old, mother of twelve children, born in Karnes City, Texas, raised in Corpus Christi. Since 1928, I started working in agricultural work. I have been a worker all my life. I know how to handle a man's job like a man and I'm not ashamed to say it. I'm an American citizen and I'm talking for justice. I'm asking for justice. Not only for me or for my family but for all the migrant workers. . . ."

(She requested a raise to $1.25 minimum for the hourly rate in the fields.)[28]

CHAPTER III

FOOTNOTES

1. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *A Study of Selected Socioeconomic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census, Vol. I, Americans of Spanish Origin* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 27.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

5. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P-20 No. 280, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1974 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 38.

6. *Spanish Speaking Americans - Their Manpower Problems and Opportunities* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 95.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. Yolanda Nava, *Regeneración*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1974), p. 8.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

11. U.S. HEW, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

14. Kaye Briegel, "Femenism in Aztlan," (paper prepared for the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies Conference in Monterrey, California, October 26-28, 1972), pp. 12-13.

15. Ibid.

16. Ruth Allen, The Labor of Women in the Production of Cotton, U.T. Bulletin No. 3134 (Austin, Texas: University of Texas, 1931), p. 229.

17. Ibid., p. 236.

18. Ibid., p. 238.

19. Ibid., p. 239.

20. Ibid., p. 246.

21. U.S. General Accounting Office, Impact of Federal Programs to Improve the Living Conditions of Migrants and Other Seasonal Farmworkers (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 24-25.

22. Ibid., p. 18.

23. Ibid., p. 21.

24. Ibid., p. 22.

25. Ibid., p. 23.

26. Women in Texas History, 1976 Calendar (Austin People's History in Texas, 1975).

27. Regeneración, Vol. 1, No. 10, p. 20.

28. Regeneración, Vol. 1, No. 10.

IV. La Chicana and La Familia

Family - General Characteristics

In determining the characteristics for lifestyles, attitudes and socioeconomics for Chicanas, the family unit, its strengths and character are of utmost importance. A startling 86% of the Chicana population lives in family units. This compares to 78.8% for all women 14 years and over who live in family units in the United States.[1]

Demographers have also found that in Spanish populations the proportion of persons living alone without relatives is at least 8% lower than the U.S. overall percentage. They have surmised that two factors account for this. Women tend to stay with their families, and the elderly live with relatives. The first factor is borne out by the high rate of male primary individuals shown in census figures.

In general, U.S. Census statistics for 1970 and 1974 show Mexican-American families have higher percentages of large families, greater numbers of children in the families, and less primary individuals than U.S. families as a whole.[2]

The general characteristic of U.S. families shows that 86% of all families consist of a husband, wife and their children, if any. Mexican Americans have fewer dissolved marriages than some of the minority groups, although the 82% of husband-wife families among Chicanos is still lower than the 86% for the total U.S. population. (See also Appendix, Table IV)

Rural/urban comparisons show that more rural than urban Chicano families live in husband-wife mode. Eighty-seven percent of Mexican American rural families are husband-wife families. Only 9% of the families are headed by a female.[3]

Children. Mexican American families also tend to be larger than the national average. Demographers have found that over half of the Mexican American families have more than three children at home under eighteen years old. Also, ten percent of all Mexican American families have six or more children, and almost half of the Mexican American families have children six years old or less.[4]

The presence of so many young children in the Mexican American family has particular significance in the planning of preschool and child care services which are multicultural, relevant to the logistics of the women working in semiskilled jobs, and inexpensive or free.

Chicanas as Heads of Households. In 1974, 12.9% of the Mexican American women 14 years and over were heads of households, getting ever close to the 19.5% national percentage for all women of the same age group in the United States.[5]

> "It is particularly difficult for the female head of a large family to support many children. Disadvantaged by a smaller income, the female is often the sole earner, particularly when the children are not yet old enough to contribute to the family income. While 55% of all the female-headed families in the United States have children under 18, 68% of the Mexican American female-headed families . . . do.
>
> "The female head who has younger, preschool age children to support is further burdened economically by the need to provide child care while she is working. Only one-fifth of all female-headed families in the United States have such young children, but among the Spanish speaking, 31% of the Mexican American female-headed families . . . have young children for whom child care must be provided if the woman is to work."[6]

" . . . the need for preschool services for young children in both Spanish origin subgroups is greater than that of the total population. In a preschool program, the young Spanish origin child begins adjusting to the bicultural and bilingual world in which he/she is likely to live throughout his/her life. In preschool, the Mexican American and Puerto Rican child who, until then may have known only Spanish, can more easily master the English language.

"Currently, the proportion of Mexican American . . . women who are in the work force is among the lowest of all ethnic groups. To give more of these women, particularly those who are mothers of young children, the opportunity to work outside of their homes and thus contribute to their family incomes, more Mexican American . . . preschoolers should have the chance to enroll in preschool programs. Children who are less than six years old are found in 43% of all Mexican American families. . . .

"The rate of preschool enrollment by Mexican American 3-4-year olds in most states is lower than the national average of 14%. In Texas and New Mexico, only 11% of the Mexican American 3-4-year olds are in any type of preschool program, 3% lower than the national average both for the total population and for Mexican Americans. The enrollment rates of young Mexican American children in Arizona, Illinois, and all rural areas is only 12%. Indeed, only in California (17%) and in Colorado (a very high 22%) are the children enrolled at rates higher than the U.S. national average."[7]

Income of Families. Twenty-five percent of U.S. Mexican American families have incomes of less than $4,000 a year. Although this is 10% greater than the proportion of low-income families found in the total population, these figures do not reflect the large number of persons per family who must exist on this income. Mexican Americans have a family median income of $6,962, and a per capita income of $1,716. In contrast, the per capita income for the total U.S. population is much higher at $3,139, and the median family income is $9,590. The median income of the Mexican American family is $2,628 less than the median income of all families in the United States.

Mexican American families are poorest in rural areas generally and in the states of New Mexico and Texas. In these areas, over one-third (35%) of the Mexican American families survive on less than $4,000 a year.

Just over one-quarter (27%) of Mexican American families nationally earn an annual income of $10,000 or more. This is 20% less than the proportion found in the total population.[8]

> " . . . ; because of the high rate of poverty, the family is unable to educate the children adequately. Lack of income forces children to end their education early in order to enter the labor market and assist in the support of the family. Lacking an adequate education, the child enters the labor force at the lowest of employment levels, with a minimum of skills, thereby earning a low income. This perpetuates the cycle of poverty.
>
> "Not only do Mexican Americans have a high percentage of families in poverty, but they also have a higher percentage of families who are near poor (incomes less than 125% of poverty level) than does the total population. An additional 9% of Mexican American families are at this income level, compared to only 4% of families nationally. Combined with those families whose incomes are below poverty, fully one-third of all Mexican American families in the United States are living under economically precarious conditions."[9]

(See also Appendix, Table V)

Families and Public Assistance. A large percentage of Mexican American families are on public assistance, a correlative of their high poverty rate. One of eight families or 12% are on public assistance, more than twice the rate for all U.S. families.

> "The percentage of families getting welfare payments varies considerably from state to state. One in five Mexican American families in Colorado (18%) and one in six in California (16%) are on welfare. But in

> Texas and New Mexico (the two states with the highest proportion of poor Mexican American families), the proportion of families on welfare is much lower (9% and 11% respectively)."[10]

Extended Families. Families in Spanish speaking cultures still retain the extended family concept (containing more than just the immediate family and including other relatives, such as grandparents, aunts or uncles).

> "Local data on extended families among Spanish speaking populations are not available in the above form. But by subtracting the percentage of all families with three or four children under 18 years of age from families with five or more members of any age or relationship, one is able to determine the degree to which extended family relationships exist in a particular population group by the presence of persons over 18 years of age other than the parents.
>
> "Among Mexican Americans, the differential between the percentage of families with three or more children and the percentage of families with five or more persons, nationally, is 8%. (The differential among all families in the total population is 5%.) The differential among Mexican Americans is higher in rural areas (9%), as well as in the state of Texas (10%), suggesting a greater tendency for extended families among Mexican Americans in these areas."[11]

Intermarriage. Approximately one out of every six Mexican American married persons is married to a person of a different nationality or race. "The rate of intermarriage among younger Mexican Americans has been increasing steadily," with the majority having married persons who are not Spanish-speaking/Spanish origin.[12]

Judging by the foregoing statistics, a greater percentage of U.S. Chicanas live in large families and in economically depressed conditions. Tragically, statistics also show that Chicano families, women included, are not receiving the social services and assistance to which they are entitled, namely child care, public assistance and, in many cases, social security benefits.

Family Dynamics, the Myth and Realities

One factor that statistics do not show is what happens within the family structure, especially given the generally poor environment under which Chicano families live out their lives. Statistics aside, the family has been praised as providing the one stable element for Chicanos, and then again just as often blamed for their lack of development. Anthony Lozano defends the Chicano family when he expresses that outside pressures have helped solidify the Chicano family in similar ways to the "barrio" which has created a physical environment where Chicanos feel safe and together. The family and its networks, he says, help family members secure employment, scholarships, or keep up with tuition payment. In this respect the familia . . . "no ha sido una barrera entre sus miembros y la sociedad" (the family has not been a barrier between its members and society).[13]

In opposition, the Mexican scholar, Juana A. Alegria, in her book Psicología de las Mexicanas maintains that the Mexican family is very much respected as an institution at the conceptual plane. It is considered the basic social group, incorporating the economic, psychological, and sociological national interest. As such, it is considered of ultimate importance. This, according to her, does not coincide with reality.

According to Alegria, the family in reality is man's domain and his sole possession, to do with it as is his pleasure. U.S. scholars, writers, and feminists have also placed the family as the focus of attention in matters dealing with the Chicana. Since Mexican American women are more likely than not to live within a family context, they feel that whatever happens to women happens there or in relation to a family situation. Whatever changes positive or negative will occur for women, the family will be the point of departure.[14]

Despite the fact that the Mexican family has been the most important social unit in Mexican culture from recorded pre-Columbian history to date, many scholars contend that careful, culturally relevant analyses have yet to be made establishing its true character. Sociologists including Mexican and Mexican American have yet to develop an empirical and scientific framework for analyzing the dynamics involved in the human relationships within the Chicano family structure. In his article, "The Social Science Myth of the Mexican American Family," Miguel Montiel discusses the many reasons why available research on the Mexican and Mexican American family is unacceptable and destructive.

Montiel discusses the works of Samuel Ramos, Octavio Paz, William Madsen, Celia Heller and others to illustrate how irrelevant research tools, coupled with irresponsible methods and sensibilities, have created myths about the Mexican American family which have yet to be disproved through adequate research efforts. He quotes sociologist Fernando Penalosa's statement in 1968 relating to the Chicano family:

> "Mexican American family structure has not yet been subject to any systematic analysis. It may be said without exaggeration that neither the empirical data nor an adequate theoretical framework is yet available for carrying out this task."[15]

Montiel specifically discredits certain major generalizations which the volumes of "Classic" research have handed down for establishing an ideological philosophical and theoretical orientation about the Chicano family. Some of these are basic to Chicanas' present existence and greatly affect her future development.

> "First is the unquestioned acceptance of the 'masculinity cult' to explain family roles. Unlike Mexican studies, however, Machismo is not generally linked to what can be called a psychoanalytical orientation per se. It is arbitrarily interjected to explain family roles or concomitant problems irrespective of the data available. For instance, permeating the literature pertaining to the 'Problems of the Mexican American' is the idea that the nature of the family is at best characterized by the cult of masculinity, which is said to be to blame for their problems.
>
> " . . . the Myth of the Mexican family has been created because of certain questionable assumptions that have dominated Mexican and Mexican American family studies. First and foremost is the concept social scientists have regarding Machismo . . . concepts like ineptitude, irresponsibility and inferiority that have been used to define Machismo. Terms like Machismo are abstract, value-laden concepts that lack the empirical referants necessary for construction of sound explanations."[16]

Montiel discusses also the work of Robert Hayden, another academician who poses a slightly different interpretation of the father's role as being characterized by supreme male dominance, individualism pride, wife beating, aversion to contraceptives, and other characteristics traditionally attributed to Chicanos. Even so, Hayden maintains these characteristics do not indicate either a neglect of responsibility or a breakdown of family cohesiveness.

Concerning these and other studies, Chicanas agree with Montiel " . . . that it is inconceivable to imagine, however, that there could exist any semblance of stability or close relationship in a family where behaviors described by Hayden are the norm."[17]

As the role of the man is laden with terribly oppressive characteristics, the woman's role within the family is proportionately described as weak and totally valueless. Here again, Mexican and Mexican American sociologists are just as prone as Anglos to portray all Mexican and Mexican American women as submissive, exploited, physically abused, and generally as masochistic "weirdos." Juana Alegria, who borrows liberally from Freud, Germaine Greer, and Oscar Lewis never quotes a single study accomplished with culturally relevant tools. She has few positive comments to make about the Mexicana. Generally, she says that they are dependent, submissive and possessive martyrs who make everyone's life miserable. This again she attributes to the male's machismo and to the entire community which reinforces these behavior patterns.[18]

What have Chicanas to say about this? Usually their position is taken with an eye toward honesty and an eye on politics. Invariably, their attitude is "ni muy muy, ni tan tan" (It's not as bad as that). In cases of abuse, they are quick to point out that machismo taken to negative extremes in any culture will result in the exploitation and abuse of women.

Chicanas usually make references to the fact that in the Chicano culture machismo has a positive side which everyone seems to have forgotten. Men, real "machos," are supposed to be good family men, good providers, brave, considerate, gentle with their wives and children, and responsible and active in civic affairs. Traditionally, to earn the title of "Don," a man had to demonstrate these traits.[19]

Women are very much concerned with the fact that negative images of Chicano family roles and relations are inundating the community. Universities, schools, textbooks, television and commercial advertising may create such strong waves that very soon Chicanos and Chicanas may believe the image -- Macho/Subservient Female. Their concern is, to what extent social scientists and the media are dictating norms to the Chicano family and to what extent are social planners and educators being influenced by these images. In other words, given enough media messages and time, the image may become reality. Chicana activists today believe that a clarification of this image is essential. They believe that the manner in which this issue is resolved in the U.S. will determine whether or not Chicanas continue to exist and develop within their present family structure. Continued "blind" belief in the Machismo/Subservient women image is destructive to the strong status Chicanas have generally enjoyed within the family. This also affects all possibilities for strategizing for development of both males and females. In essence, they agree with Montiel that ". . . as long as research on the Mexican American family is guided by anything other than sound definitions, its findings, conclusions and interpretations must be seen only as philosophical and ideological speculations, not as empirical truths."[20]

CHAPTER IV

FOOTNOTES

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 280, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1974" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 28.

2. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census: Vol. I Americans of Spanish Origin* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 35.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

5. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

6. U.S. Department of HEW, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-46.

13. Anthony Lozano, "La Cultura Chicana Escencialmente Mexicana," Manana No. 1575 (3 de Noviembre 1973), pp. 36-37.

14. Juana Alegría, *Psicología de las Mexicanas* (Mexico D.F.: Editorial Samo, 1975), p. 158.

15. Fernando Penalosa, "Mexican American Family Roles," Marriage and the Family, Vol. 30 (1968), p. 681.

16. Miguel Montiel, "The Social Science Myth of the Mexican American Family" in Voices (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, 1971), p. 45.

17. Ibid., p. 46.

18. Alegria, op. cit., pp. 178-179.

19. Bernice Rincon, "La Chicana: Her Role in the Past and Her Search for a New Role in the Future," Regeneración, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1975), p. 39.

20. Montiel, op. cit., p. 46.

V. La Chicana Today, Posture and Accomplishments

If the sixties decade is seen as "the decade of the Chicano," the seventies is certainly the decade of the Chicana. From 1960 to 1970 women in greater numbers than ever before participated in activities which put the community on the map. By the late sixties, however, they were questioning men's commitment and delivery on the specific needs that Chicanas felt they had. When exactly was the time coming that women could plan and administrate all those programs being demanded for her sake and by the sweat of her brow? When was *she* going to run for office after running innumerable campaigns for others?

The historical cycle was completed and Chicanas picked up the threads introduced by the radical Club Liberal de San Antonio and the autonomous Liga Mexicanista Femenil of the 1910s. Both organizations, unlike GI Forum, Ladies LULAC, and Chicana groups working within predominantly male groups, were feminist and autonomous. Chicanas had come of age. They have been willing in the seventies, as before, to participate in community and male-dominated organizations. But in addition, they recalled part of themselves, part of their energies to participate in newly formed all-women caucuses and organizations.

The recurring rationale for this action has been expressed in Chicana literature and in position statements from coast to coast. It centers around these issues identified by Chicanas:

- Chicanas have realized that in terms of socio-economic status and prospects for improvement, they are at the bottom of the social heap.

- Chicanas realize that there is always room for recruiting more women into social action and advocacy, and that women can be successfully recruited if concentrated attention is given to this matter. Chicanas welcomed the opportunity to shoulder at least 50% of the burden for development and improvement of the community.

- Women have some very special and unique concerns in areas such as sex education, child care, rape, Chicana studies or University nonsexist ethnic studies, which they can effectively identify and clarify. In these areas, mixed groups have not always been as effective advocates as all-women organizations.

- Male-dominated organizations have provided limited opportunity for leadership experiences to women. In all-female organizations, all positions are available to women.

- Women sometimes can be more successfully involved in all-women organizations than in mixed groups. From the entry point in a women's organization, they can be introduced to other community advocacy efforts.

- Chicanas realized that Anglo women were advocating for greater rights and privileges and prioritizing of programs on women's issues; as a good strategy, special-purpose Chicana organizations/institutions need to be instituted to benefit from the government's attention on women.

(For greater coverage of contemporary needs and concerns, see Documentation Section - Conference Proceedings)

Chicana and Mexican history attests to the fact that the group acts fast when necessary and that it is energetic once in motion. The seventies has seen an upsurge in activity and development for Chicanas without parallel. Chicanas have made enormous contributions in the fields of education, journalism, politics and labor. They have certainly added depth and new dimension to feminist philosophy and literature in this country. Hopefully, a more detailed history will do justice to some of the individuals and accomplishments recorded here in summary form.

Chicana Achievements in Education

As noted earlier, women have provided the backbone for the reform movements, protests and other attempts to improve the educational status of Chicanos in this country. In the seventies, women, still in pitiable numbers but high in calibre, have made an impression on educational development in this country. There would be no courses on Chicana studies but for the arduous advocacy of pioneers Anna Nieto-Gomez, Gracia Molina de Pick, and Corinna Sanchez, all Californians.

Present advocates for Chicana studies are found throughout the nation, and among the best known are Rita Sanchez, Dorinda Moreno, writer and activist, and writer Sylvia Gonzalez, and Marcella Trujillo, Colorado and Midwest scholar.

Academicians,in addition to the foregoing who have successfully pursued degrees and careers, and who are also community advocates are Cecilia R. Suarez, Assistant Professor, California Polytechnic, and Board Chairmen of National Chicana Foundation; Olga Villa, Notre Dame University and Director for Proyecto Venceremos in Chicago, and Drs. Marta Sotomajor,

DR. GUADALUPE VALLIS
photo by Margarita Calderon

University of Houston, Houston, Texas. Dr. Guadalupe Vallis is Assistant Professor, New Mexico State University, and one of the founders of the National Chicano Sociolinguistics Organization. Rosaura Sanchez, Professor at the Third College, University of California at San Diego, is another Chicana well known in linguistics.

Other noted academicians are Carina Ramirez, Director of Chicano Studies, UT-El Paso; Ines Tovar, Assistant Professor, the University of Texas at Austin; and Carlotta Cardenas Dwyer, also at UT-Austin and well known writer. Delvina Hernandez, feminist and scholar from UCLA, has distinguished herself with her monograph, Mexican American Challenge to a Sacred Cow, published by UCLA. Teresa Aragon de Shepro, Vice-Provost, University of Washington, has also published extensively in her field of political science. Others who, like Teresa, have distinguished themselves in high administrative positions are Dra. Norma Hernandez, Dean of Education, University of Texas at El Paso, and Cecilia Preciado Burciaga, Special Assistant to the President, Stanford University.

In elementary and secondary education, Chicanas have also provided great expertise and much originality, especially in the design of bilingual/bicultural programs and in the development of theoretical bases for the field. Dra. Blandina (Bambi) Cardenas co-authored the "Cardenas-Cardenas Theory of Educational Incompatabilities" and now directs the LAU School Management project at the Intercultural Development Research Association. Dra. Gloria Zamora, University of Texas at San Antonio, pioneered some of the first bilingual/bicultural projects in the Texas public schools.

Other educators at this level who have contributed years of commitment, strong advocacy for children's rights, and community educational awareness are Hermelinda Rodriguez, Austin, Texas, the first Chicana principal in Central Texas; Maria Urquidez from Tucson, Arizona, who was honored in 1973 for completing 45 years of service to public education and for her advocacy for bilingual education; and Maria del Carmen Saucedo, Deputy Superintendent, El Paso Public Schools, the top Chicana public school administrator in the state of Texas. Throughout the nation now, there are hundreds of Chicanas in positions of principals and administrators who, through their years of work and community concern, have been able to achieve and hold positions of responsibility.

Literature and Journalism

Chicanas have achieved great prominence as authors and journalists in the period 1968-1975. Two of the period's most active periodicals, already mentioned, have had Chicanas as editors and founders. El Grito del Norte, 1968-1973, published in Espanola, New Mexico, was edited for the five years of its existence by two strong New Mexico feminists, Betita Martinez and Enriqueta Vasquez. They have also recently published a major work for high schools, Viva La Raza, Doubleday and Company.

Francisca Flores, a Californian who has provided great leadership to the Chicano movement and to feminist ideology, has edited Regeneración, a journal which has provided the Chicano community great insight on all social issues since 1969. Regeneración also has provided a chronicle for Chicana activities and concern at a time when no other vehicles were available.

To express Chicana needs and feminist ideology, a group of Chicanas on the campus of Long Beach State initiated the newspaper, Hijas de Cuauhtemoc, which was later transformed into a journal for feminists through *Encuentro Femeníl*. Anna Nieto-Gomez and Adelaida del Castillo are editors for this journal, which is probably the second Chicana feminist journal ever published in the U.S., the first being *La Mujer Moderna* (1910s) which researchers have identified as a liberal, feminist publication.

Chicana newsletters which serve as effective communication vehicles within their communities are: *Comision Femeníl Mexicana (CFM) Newsletter*, Los Angeles; the *Chicana Service Action Center (CSAC) Newsletter*, also in Los Angeles, which deals primarily with manpower and related social issues. *El Popo Femeníl*, published by M.E.C.H.A. Chicano Studies Department at Cal-State University, Northridge, California, reflects the problems and viewpoint of University Chicanas. Most issues include original essays and poetry.

Another community newsletter which is primarily an organizational tool is *MABPWA Newsletter* published in Austin, Texas. *La Razon Mestiza* (newsletter/paper) has achieved a significant role in unifying Chicanas nationally with its short newsclips on events of importance to Chicanas and for the very excellent coverage of new organizations and new groups active in the entire community. La Razon Mestiza has been published in varying formats since 1974 by the San Francisco Chicana organization, Concilio Mujeres, headed by writer and poet Dorinda Moreno. She also produces exciting and dramatic poetry, and she is the editor of the only full-length book available on Chicanas to date, La Mujer en Pie de la Lucha.

Chicanas have made significant contributions to the literature of the period and to the development of Chicano journalism by their enthusiastic support and literary contributions to journals like Aztlan, UCLA; El Grito; El Magazin de Tejas; La Raza; Consafos; La Puerto del Sol, New Mexico State University; De Colores; and other Chicano publications.

Chicanas who are frequent contributors to feminist, academic and community journals are Marcella Trujillo who has published extensively in El Conquistador, La Luz, and Colorado newspapers; Carlotta Cardenas Dwyer, editor of Chicano Voices, from Houghton Mifflin Company; Gracia Molina de Pick, editor of a forthcoming book on La Chicana, Notre Dame University Press; Estella Portillo de Trambley, editor of the El Grito special edition on Chicana literature and author of the well known drama The Day of the Swallows. Writer and scholar Antonia Castaneda Shular is well known for her role as one of the editors of the extensive work on Chicano literature, Literatura Chicana Texto y Contexto; Rita Sanchez is also well known for her role as guiding spirit and editor of Images de la Chicana, which contains beautiful prose and poetry by Chicanas. Other writers who are well known for their work in Chicano literature as well as in their professional field are: Adaljisa Sosa, author of "Chicanas and el Movimiento" in Aztlan, and, of course, Jovita Gonzalez, whose work often is reprinted in many formats. Chicanas Margarita Smith, Orange County, California; Pat Duran, Los Angeles, California; and Martha Cotera have produced bibliographies and reading lists useful to Chicanas in the United States.

Political Activities and Accomplishments

The lack of Chicano representation in U.S. politics is often seen as the "root" of many problems faced by the Chicano community. "The Mexican is poor and therefore without a voice in the political process, which is predicated on campaign contributions and the ability to convince those in power that you deserve a share," says Rudy Acuna. And the Chicano, according to him, has not been very successful in doing this in the past. In every state in the U.S., there are only a negligible handful of elected officials at federal and state levels.[1] Chicanas, of course, haven't even made it to the first rung of the ladder. There are no Chicana state legislators, no Chicana federal judges, no Chicana U.S. Congresswomen, and no governors.

In isolated cases, Chicanas have won county and local offices, although a detailed national statistical analysis has yet to be made to determine types and levels of political participation for Chicanas. Some women, like the indomitable crusador, Jane Gonzalez of Norton Shores, Michigan, have served successfully in local city councils, but their participation has been largely unheralded and unrecorded. Other cases of successful incorporation of Chicanas into the political process in Democratic party politics is Tina Villanueva, political chieftain of Alice, Texas, and Rita Rangel, Democratic County Chairwoman in Kleberg County, Texas. Recently, Alice Chacon was elected County Clerk in the Democratic Party in El Paso County, Texas.

Unsuccessful races by Chicanas in the Democratic Party since 1960 have been Monica Rhea Hammer's 1972 U.S. representative race in Chicago, Illinois, and Virginia Musquiz' 1964 state representative race in Texas.

By all indications, Chicanas seem to have been as much inspired by third party politics as the men, for both the Raza Unida Party (RUP) and the Socialist Parties have been startling successful in attracting women. In the state of Texas, the stronghold of RUP development and activity, Chicanas have run in district and statewide elections in significant numbers, and they have stacked up impressive victories at the local levels. In Texas in 1972, Alma Canales ran for Lt. Governor under RUP, the first Chicana in the state ever to seek a high statewide office. In district races, Martha P. Cotera was the RUP candidate for the State Board of Education race. On the local scene, with RUP, Viviana Santiago was elected to the Crystal City Independent School District Board of Trustees in 1972, the first Chicana ever to serve on a school board in the Winter Garden area and one of the few elected Chicana officials in the state of Texas. Elena Diaz, also Crystal City, Zavala County, was elected County Commissioner by the RUP in 1972.

By 1974, Texas RUP women had organized an informal but effective statewide group through a series of Mujeres Pro-Raza Unida conferences beginning on August 4, 1973, and including two regional conferences in 1973 in Corpus Christi and Crystal City, Texas. These statewide activities, which included Chicana awareness, political campaign strategies and organizing techniques, gave many women the impetus to run for office. In 1974 two Chicanas in Texas made the race for State House of Representatives, Maria Jimenez in Houston, who ran against Representative Ben Reyes, and Ino Alvarez of Austin who ran against Representative Sarah

Weddington. During the summer of 1974, Ino dropped from the race and Oralia Cole, another Austin Chicana, made the race against Representative Weddington.

In Crystal City, Texas (Zavala County), the RUP women candidates chalked up impressive victories with Chachi Caserez' election to the school district's board of trustees, and five women were elected to county offices. Leading the county slate was the political "pro," Virginia Musquiz, as County Clerk.

In Socialist Workers Party politics, Chicanas have also been successful in gaining acceptance as candidates. Examples of this are Mariana Hernandez who ran for statewide office in Texas under the Socialist Party in 1972, and Olga Rodriquez, nominated as the party's candidate for Governor of California in 1974. Prior to her candidacy for the governor's race, Olga had run for Mayor of Los Angeles in 1973.

Third party politics have provided success for many Chicanas at the local level. However, even more important than actual officeholding has been the effective political training that Chicanas and other women have been able to provide for each other through participation in these two political institutions in their formative stages where bodies and brain power are in short supply, where sexism has had to be cast aside.

In other Texas RUP internal affairs, the participation of women in the party's 1970, 1971 organizational meetings has been equal to men most of the time, and when Virginia Musquiz compared voting statistics -- male and female -- in Zavala County for 1973 and 1974, she found that Chicanas were slightly ahead in ballots cast.

In the 1974 statewide Texas Convention, a woman, Maria Elena Martinez, made the race for State Chairman, which traditionally had been reserved as a man's slot. Unsuccessful, but undaunted, she won the second place slot as RUP Vice Chairwoman for the state. Another candidate for the Vice Chair slot was Juanita Bustamante Luera, an active RUP organizer from the Laredo, Texas area. Encouraged by Maria Elena's actions, many RUP women have indicated they would seek the Chair position at the 1976 State Convention.

RUP women at the national level have made an impact on political activities in this country. Although Texas has been discussed in close detail, other states have also had strong RUP women participation, and the National Raza Unida Congreso, Congreso de Aztlan includes active women from California, New Mexico, and the Midwest. In the case of women, particularly, this third party has demonstrated to the Democrat and Republican Parties that minority women can be successfully recruited into local, state and national politics, given the proper environment for development.

In national politics and especially in women's political structures, Chicanas have taken an active role. Chicanas participated in the original policy board establishing the Texas Women's Political Caucus in 1971 in Austin, Texas. Among those involved were RUP activists Ino Alvarez and Viviana Santiago. By 1972 through recruitment efforts largely conducted by Chicanas themselves, the Chicana caucus numbered over 60 women who were also in attendance at the TWPC first state convention in Mesquite, Texas in 1972. Again, a great deal of leadership and hard work sustained the Chicana group, largely through efforts of women like Evey Chapa, Dolores Rodriguez Hernandez and Alma Canales. No separate resolutions were passed at this caucus, but Martha Cotera's address to the TWPC assembly mirrored the great concern Chicanas felt about their role and quality of participation in a group such as the TWPC.

Efforts to work within the state Anglo-dominated caucus continued until 1973 when the National Women's Political Caucus Convention convened in Houston, Texas. Many Chicanas once more worked to assemble an impressive Chicana caucus representative of Chicanas throughout the United States. With the group were some outstanding Chicanas like Alicia Escalante, welfare rights organizer; Lupe Anguiano, activist and HEW official; Rhea Mojica-Hammer, politician and media personality from the Midwest. Of course, on NWPC's side, the top feminists and politicians in the country were there, including Gloria Steinem and Bella Abzug.

Although Chicanas passed a set of impressive resolutions (see Appendix), including one which as passed as part of NWPC structure providing for the existence of ethnic political caucuses on a state basis, the conference was generally disappointing for them. Evey Chapa, in an article for El Magazin, summarizes the feelings shared by the group. Eventually, these feelings erupted into action and the majority of the more politicized Chicanas left the Texas Women's Political Caucus in late 1973. Unfortunately, this deprived the NWPC of much of its potential Chicana input and leadership at the national level.

To quote Evey Chapa on the caucus and the first national convention in 1973:

> "Las mujeres of the Chicana Caucus had decided that many of our women were having trouble dealing with the Women's Caucus as it existed. We felt that many Chicanas were being excluded because they were not being recruited to join the Women's Caucus from many areas, e.g., South Texas. . . . The proof that Chicanas were being excluded from participation in the Women's Caucus was in the fact that of the sixty Chicanas in the caucus, only one had heard about the convention by direct line; the others were contacted by Chicanas who had written letters of announcement. It was through the efforts of Chicanas themselves that so many Chicanas were present and participating. We felt that there were still many barriers that would prevent las mujeres del barrio from being a part of such a convention.

> "It was with these collective feelings and others that the Chicana Caucus decided that they should provide alternative methods of involving Chicanas in political action. We felt that by forming separate Chicana Caucuses we would offer more opportunity for Chicanas to participate in the political reality of their own communities; and that these women would hold a major role in setting priorities that would focus on the barrios of the nation.
>
> "We had trouble trying to communicate this reasoning to the women of the convention. . . . Determined to have our views heard, we presented the following resolution on the floor of the convention:
>
> "Resolution 7. Whereas the Chicana has specific political priorities, unique to the Chicano experience in the United States: Therefore, be it resolved that in those states where Chicanos reside, that Chicano Political Caucuses be established and maintained on equal basis with the other state caucuses."[2]

Although the resolution passed and became part of the NWPC structure, conditions at the state level have not been favorable to Chicanas' involvement at that level and consequently at the national level.

There is much to be recorded yet in the political participation of Chicanas in this nation. And judging from the high interest shown by Democrat, Raza Unida and Republican Chicanas in the state of Texas alone, politics is going to be an ever more important function in Chicanas' lives. The approach to politics taken by Chicanas in Crystal City is indeed beautiful and hopefully will survive: "a woman cannot complain if wrong decisions are made governing her life and that of her family if she is unwilling to step forward to be named to public boards and commissions and to run for public office." Fortunately, no one can be credited for this quote because it was said hundreds of times at a regional meeting where more than ten Chicanas pledged they would seek public office in the fall of 1973.

Chicana Achievements in Labor

Contemporary Chicanas have added to the rich fabric of Chicano labor history in the United States. In a short five years, 1970-1975, Chicanas have participated in the major Mexican American labor organizing and strike efforts in the country. As mentioned before in the Migrant Women Section, they have provided vast resources to the National Farmworkers Union effort, by being rank and file members (in large numbers). They also serve in positions of leadership as evidenced by Dolores Huerta's very prominent national visibility and her position as Chief Negotiator.

In south Texas, the Texas Farmworkers Union effort, led by Antonio Arendain, included many active farmworker and migrant women. Some, like Raquel Arendain, have been involved in union activities for the past fifteen years, and have been organizing in the Texas Valley since 1960. Women have fulfilled functions as organizers, pickets, researchers, writers, speakers and fundraisers. University women like Lydia Espinosa have also volunteered their services as writers for the union paper, El Cahumil, and for research activities. Other women actively engaged in organizing and logistics for the union are Sra. Guadalupe Luna, Carmen Norland, and Marta Hernandez.

In this decade Chicana pecan shellers again organized for better wages and working conditions. Chicana workers walked out of the McCrea and Son Plant, Tehuacana Farms in Yancy, Texas, on November 23, 1973. Strike leaders and spokeswomen, Dahlia F. Lara, Janie Moncada, Rosa Jasso, all of Yancy, said that Chicanas had walked out "because they got paid less than the men. McCrea (the owner) told them that 'since men were the head of the house, they should earn more than the women'." The workers were also tired of the unsanitary working conditions and being coerced into buying "Avon" products from the employer's wife and then having their wages garnished when they could not pay.[3]

The "Economy Workers Strike" of Austin, Texas, against Economy Furniture Company lasted a full five years with the initial walkout in November 1968. At least 40% of the strikers were Chicanas who won the admiration of the community for their loyal support of the Huelga effort. Many women, although they were heads of households, did not abandon the long drawnout effort, but participated in the picketing, leafleting, marching and fundraising activities.

Women who won the admiration of all Huelguistas and the Austin community for their staunch support and hard work during the strike are: Ofelia Lucio and Benina Castellanos de Cantu of Austin, and Toribia Guzman and Connie Guzman of Georgetown, Texas. Persons who remember the Economy Strike are quick to point out that there were many other Chicanas, both strikers and nonstrikers, who were instrumental in sustaining the effort.

The biggest and most acclaimed struggle and victory in this decade's labor activity to date involved thousands of Chicanas. When the Farah Manufacturing Company strike broke on May 9, 1972, some 4,000 workers, mostly Chicanas, walked out and stayed out until an agreement favorable to workers was reached. "It took two years of striking and a nationwide boycott of Farah plants to finally force the owner, Willie Farah, to recognize the union."[4]

Chicana Organizations

Following up on attitudes and positions taken concerning the development of women in the late sixties, Chicanas have acted expeditiously to structure the vehicles for action, communication and program implementation. Conferences and conference resolutions led to formation of major organizations in the country. California by far seems to be in the forefront with its proliferation of organizations at the state, community, and university campus levels. The best known to date are the Comision Nacional Femenil, founded by Francisca Flores and other California Chicanas. The Comision has chapters in many California communities. Concilio Mujeres, a San Francisco community organization founded by Dorinda Moreno, is one of the Comision's affiliates. The Chicana Service Action Center in Los Angeles is administered directly by the Comision and serves as a manpower and social services center, one of the very few centers run for Chicanas by Chicanas. Community organizations in other states and cities include the Chicanas Unidas, Salt Lake City, Utah; Mexican American Business and Professional Women in San Antonio, Austin, Houston; and a Chicana Professional and Business Women's Club in the El Paso area.

Political organizations include DAMAS in San Antonio, Texas, a Democratic women's organization, the Mujeres Pro-Raza Unida in Texas, and the Chicana Caucus of the National Women's Political Caucus. On January 15-18, 1976, Chicanas from political and civic organizations throughout the Southwest participated in a Women's Campaign Techniques Institute in Phoenix, Arizona, sponsored by the National Women's Education Fund. Chicanas active with the Institute expressed hopes that a multi-partisan organization effort might result from the Institute.

Campus organizations abound, with a great deal of activity centered in California. M.E.C.H.A. organizations have active women's caucuses which hold a great deal of promise in terms of Chicana development. El Popo Femenil mentioned before illustrates some of the issues and concerns of university Chicanas in the U.S. Among the best-known Chicana organizations is the Hijas de Cuauhtemoc, a Long Beach, California organization, and Mujeres Unidas of Houston, Texas, who have recently sponsored a well-attended statewide conference. University Chicanas and their organizations have served a tremendous role in promoting historical research and documentation, documenting research concerns and analyzing and criticizing literature and irresponsible research.

In summary, the following documentation will serve to illustrate the level and type of organizational activity which has kept Chicanas together and active during this decade.

CHICANA CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS
HELD DURING THE PERIOD 1970-1975 IN THE UNITED STATES

Chicana Workshop, Denver Youth Liberation Conference, March 1970 (held at the Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado),well known because the women supposedly indicated they did not want to be "liberated," which more than likely meant that they were not ready to take a stand on the issue of Anglo feminism; Enriqueta Vasquez of Española, New Mexico, has written extensively on this workshop.

Raza Unida Conference in Austin, Texas, July 1970 (an informal Chicana caucus led by Marta Cotera spoke of presenting women's need at the next statewide meeting).

Women's Workshop of the Mexican American National Issues Conference, October 10, 1970, Sacramento, California (this workshop was organized by Francisca

Flores and Simmie Romero Goldsmith and resulted in the creation of the Comision Femenil Mexicana.

Women's Caucus, Raza Unida Conference, Houston, Texas, Winter 1970 (informal session among Texan Chicanas; discussion on the fact that there were no women speakers or workshop leaders; among those present were Yolanda Birdwell, Carmen Lomas Garza, Gloria Guardiola, Marta Cotera, Alma Canales).

Chicana Regional Conference, May 8, 1971, Los Angeles, California.

La Conferencia de Mujeres Por la Raza, May 28-30, 1971, Houston, Texas, YWCA. (This conference is sometimes referred to as the National Chicana Conference and is historic because as far as is known, it is the first national conference ever held for and by Chicanas in the U.S. It was organized by Elma Barrera and the staff of the Magnolia Park Branch YWCA. Speakers and workshop leaders included the most active Chicanas in the nation. Keynote speakers were Grace Olivarez, lawyer, and Julie Ruiz, School of Social Work, Arizona State University.)

HEW Women's Action Program, Research Recommendations, July 1-2, 1971, Washington, D.C. (Mostly Chicanas) A consultation organized by Lupe Anguiano for the purpose of establishing research and program priorities for Chicanas. Some of the women present included educators Cecilia Suarez, Grace Molina de Pick, Mirian Ojeda, Teresa Aragon de Shepro, Vera Martinez, sociologist Deluvina Hernandez, and community persons Paulina Jocoleo, Esther Martinez and Martha Cotera. This group organized the National Chicana Foundation.

Spanish-Speaking Coalition Conference, Women's Caucus, October 23-24, 1971, Washington, D.C. (Spanish-speaking women)

Eastern Region National Spanish-speaking Women's Caucus, December 15, 1971, New York City (Spanish-speaking women).

Midwest Region "Mi Raza Primero," Women's Caucus, February 22-23, 1972, Muskegan, Michigan (Spanish-speaking women). Some of the organizers were Olga Villa, Jane Gonzalez, and Rhea Majica Hammer.

Southwest Meeting, February 22, 1972, San Diego, California (mostly Chicanas).

Washington, D.C., Spanish-speaking women employed in various federal and non-federal agencies, February 23, 1972, Washington, D.C. (Review of Women's Action Report).

League of United Latin American Citizens, Women's Affairs Committee, March 11-12, 1972, Phoenix, Arizona (Spanish-speaking women).

Chicana Caucus, Texas Women Political Caucus State Convention, Mesquire, Texas, March 11, 1972. A caucus of close to 100 very politicized Chicanas organized within the TWPC and resolved to work within the National Women's Political Caucus so that the national and state groups would act on Chicana issues; Martha Cotera was one of the keynote speakers for the conference.

Chicana Caucus, National Chicano Political Conference, San Jose, California, April 21-23, 1972.

Midwest Spanish-Speaking Women's Political Conference, May 6, 1972, Notre Dame, Indiana (Spanish-speaking women).

Chicano Studies/MECHA Conference, California State University, Northridge, California, May 1972. (This conference supported a resolution introduced by Chicanas to require all Chicano studies majors to include at least one course on La Mujer.)

Women's Auxiliary, American G.I. Forum, July 26-29, 1972, Washington, D.C. (Special women's meeting).

National Chicana Caucus, National Women's Political Caucus, Houston, Texas, February 9-11, 1973. (Over 100 Chicanas from all states in the U.S. gathered to strategize and pass resolutions on issues relating to the Chicana. Among those in attendance were Alicia Escalante, Rhea Mojica Hammer (who won a national office with NWPC), Lupe Anguiano, Maria Cardenas, Evey Chapa, Lydia Serrata and Martha Cotera.) Many Anglo women like Sally Andrade and Jeanette Lizcano were part of the caucus and helped in the floor maneuverings.

Chicana Curriculum Workshop, University of California, Los Angeles, California, June 18-22, 1973. (This workshop, headed by the best-known Chicana academicians, resulted in the first Chicana curriculum adequate for colleges and universities and adoptable for high schools, entitled New Directions in Education Estudios Femeniles de la Chicana, edited by Anna Nieto-Gomez.)

Mujeres Pro-Raza Unida Statewide Conference, San Antonio, Texas, August 4, 1973. (Organized by women active in Texas RUP politics - Irma Mirelez, Juanita Luera, Ino Alvarez, Evey Chapa, Chelo Avila and Martha Cotera - the conference resolved to work for the development of women within the party.)

Institute to Prepare Chicanas in Administration, Washington, D.C., July-August 1973. (This institute was headed by Corine Sanchez and involved women from throughout the nation; course of study included the curriculum previously developed at UCLA.)

Chicana Educational Conference, Austin, Texas, at St. Edwards University, February 23, 1974. (Sponsored by Olga de Leon and Imelda Ramos; the conference was statewide and issues included bilingual education, employment, daycare, welfare, rape and revenue sharing.)

Mexican American Business and Professional Women of Austin, Steering Committee and Organizational Meeting, Austin, Texas, March 1974. First annual meeting was held in June 1974. (Organized by Austin Chicanas including Annabelle Valle, Amalia Mendoza, Martha Cotera, to work locally on Chicana issues.)

Chicana Symposium, Texas Southern University, TSU Week, Houston, Texas, April 22, 1974.

Conferencia Chicana Estatal, Jose Antonio School, Montezuma, New Mexico, August 23, 24, 25, 1974. (Purpose of the conference was to involve more barrio women in the movement, and to focus on women's issues, food stamps, child care, school systems, housing and sex discrimination.)

Chicana Symposium held during Chicana Month, University of Texas at El Paso, October 4, 1974.

Chicana Seminar, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, Spring 1975. (Participants and workshop leaders included Olga Villa (Midwest), Lydia Espinosa (Texas), Evey Chapa (Texas), Gracia Molina de Pick (California), Gloria Gutierrez Roland (Texas).

Chicana Week Seminar, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, May 1975.

Mexican American Business and Professional Women of El Paso, Texas Conference, August 1975.

National Chicana Foundation Meeting, Tucson, Arizona, August 8, 1975.

National Chicana Foundation Meeting, Los Angeles, California, October 15, 1975.

Chicana Identity Conference, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, November 15, 1975. Organized by Mujeres Unidas of Houston, Texas, including Luisa Villejo, Chris Vasquez and others. This conference was statewide in scope and topics were both academic and community oriented with history, education, labor and politics as main concerns. Keynote speakers were Anna Nieto-Gomez, Northridge, California, and Martha P. Cotera, Austin, Texas.

Source: This section has been written from program and conference notes in Martha Cotera's personal files.

Chicanas and Feminism

If feminism is defined as the development of women and as the force which liberates women to be what they should and must be as human beings, then every Chicana who helps herself; every Dolores Huerta and Alicia Escalante and Virginia Muzquiz who helps her sister and her brother is a feminist. It has always been difficult for Chicanas who developed in the education and civil rights activities of the sixties to understand why feminism, or "being pro-women's development" has been so misunderstood and misinterpreted. This became especially so when Chicanas in the seventies began asking for a little bit of attention. Unfortunately, Chicanos probably misunderstood the action because it coincided with Anglo women's reactivated move toward greater economic and legal liberation.

Active Chicanas, when questioned about their double role in community and "all-women" organizations, or about their desire to step beyond the mold established by social scientists, have used their historical legacy effectively. If women have been strong always, and active always, and always struggled like Isabel

Malagram or like Luisa Mareno must have struggled to be accepted as they were, why won't critics accept history, accept the past and accept the present?

The Chicana, says Anna Nieto-Gomez " . . . has been cautioned to wait and fight for her cause at a later time for fear of dividing the Chicano movement."[5] On the other hand, the Anglo American feminists do want her, on condition, Anna says: " . . . it has been recommended that she melt into the melting pot of femaleness rather than to divide the women's movement."

Neither course has been acceptable to Chicanas who had all along assumed and still assume that the Chicano civil rights movement has been here all along, and only want for the movement to be sensitized to the needs of women. Basically, the issue has evolved as to which of the two areas of discrimination the Chicana should adopt as a priority -- sexism or racism. Women scholars and activists say both, since they cannot divorce themselves of their sex. If there is sexism within the movement context and organizations, then they must work to obliterate it, because there is no place in a movement for human liberation for discrimination, abuse or exploitation of any of its members.

Impatient women then, as it was mentioned earlier in this introduction, moved to start on their own, to resolve some of the problems which had been considered "in-house." Anna Nieto-Gomez elaborates on the situation:

> "Many loyalists felt that these complaints from women were potentially destructive and could only divide the Chicano movement. If sexual inequalities existed they were an in-house problem which could be dealt with later. However, right then and there, there were more important priorities to attend to, e.g., Vietnam, La Huelga, police brutality, etc."[6]

Yolanda Nava, well-known Chicana advocate, and others referred to this posture as "unacceptable and tokenism" because " . . . it is unacceptable to separate racial-sexual and economic struggle in a hierarchical list of priorities. It must be realized that it is illogical to ask a women to ignore and postpone her struggle as a woman."[7]

The aware woman activist had realized also that advocates who would postpone rendering due process of law for women or providing equal opportunity for development ask her in effect not only to give up for herself, but also to make a decision against the best interest of her daughters. Women's groups in Austin, Texas, for example, have discussed that mothers do not want their daughters to develop at the expense of their sons' development, or vice versa.

> "It is therefore the philosophy of the Femenistas that in order for a movement to truly fight for justice for all its people (both men and women), it must also, from the beginning, identify and fight the economic oppression delivered through sexism as well as through racism. It is the double responsibility for both Chicanas and Chicanos to become politicized to the economic implications of sexism-sexist racism; otherwise, the issues of employment, welfare, and education as they pertain to the Chicana are not known and therefore ignored and not resolved."[8]

In many communities, Chicanas have settled comfortably, working with male-dominated organizations as well as with their own autonomous structures, and thus simultaneously they can keep up with both concerns and accelerate the development of community women.

But, what has been the effects of this Chicana self-determination effort in relation to the Anglo women's movement? In one voice, Chicana feminists from Texas to California admit that Chicana feminism shares with all women the issues which affect them as women, such as welfare, birth control, abortion and employment.[9] Yet Chicanas prefer to address these issues in the context of the Chicano community. Essay after essay, book after book on the issue reiterates the sentiment. They do so for very practical concerns dealing first of all with the desire to continue working within the context of the total community's move toward liberation, and secondly because the Mexicana has a specific language and cultural context which she feels provides the proper ambience for the development of women.

Naturally she constantly looks back at history for reassurance. As far as full participation with the Anglo movement, Chicanas agree in general with the feelings expressed by Anna Nieto-Gomez in "La Femenista."

> "Specific definite issues of the Anglo feminist movement take on a new dimension in the context of the Chicana feminist movement. When a Chicana talks about birth control and abortion, she does so in the context of understanding the cultural genocidal acts of this country. When a

> Chicana demands child care centers, she includes in these demands that they be bilingual and bicultural. . . . If she is a Chicana on welfare, she may be even more adamant about being able to select the staff at the child care center so her child will not become a dropout at the age of two years old because of the staff's prejudices. . . ."[10]

Feminists within the Chicano ranks have not had an easy time, first of all because most of them received the label unintentionally for doing what they had been doing for decades and for merely reminding males that women had "egos, too" and needs. Secondly, because a woman's movement happened to come on the scene when Chicanas were ready to take the step toward stronger development and realistic approached to family problems.

Nevertheless, the evidence is available in Chicano journals that women have not been frightened by the challenge. They have met it head-on, and if feminism or a woman's liberation movement continues its activities in this country, Chicanas seem ready to make certain it is a multicultural movement, especially in educational institutions and with curricula.

And thus far, even the admonitions from more conservative elements has not fazed women who continue their efforts to provide for the development of women. In terms of movement dynamics, the issue seems to have been settled and women have continued active involvement through their organizations. In some communities like Austin, Texas, men have accepted gratefully the involvement of hundreds of women, previously uncommitted. Coalitions are formed for community issues, and the community with the new women's groups can count on greater involvement. One expected and welcomed effect has been that Chicana organizations can form alliances with Anglo women's groups and effectively trade off support for projects to benefit their special interests.

After all is said and done, one of the strongest pro-Raza and feminist advocates, Enriqueta Vasquez, completes the cycle:

> "One of the greatest strengths of la Raza is understanding and obedience to nature, its balance and creation . . . it takes a male and a female to make a whole . . . this basic need for each other is the total fulfillment of beauty in its most creative form."[11]

CHAPTER V

FOOTNOTES

1. Rodolfo Acuna, Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972), p. 247.

2. Evey Chapa, "Report from the National Women's Political Caucus," Magazin, Vol. 1/9 (September 1973), p. 39.

3. Chicano Times, Decmber 7 and December 21, 1973.

4. El Calendario Chicano 1975 (Hayward, California: Southwest Network, 1974).

5. Anna Nieto-Gomez, "La Femenista," Encuentro Femenil, Vol. 1/2 (1974), p. 35.

6. Ibid., p. 37.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. 38.

9. Ibid., p. 39.

10. Ibid., p. 41.

11. Dorinda Moreno, ed., La Mujer En Pie de la Lucha (San Francisco, California: Espina del Norte Publications, 1973), p. 246.

VI. ¿Qué Sere . . . Siendo Chicana?

La Chicana and the Future

It seems easier to predict a future for Chicanas in the seventies than it would have been ten or twenty years ago. The biggest difference is that women themselves are taking a hand in their future. They are no longer waiting for their turn to come. And, fortunately, through community institutions and the few other institutions which women themselves have structured, they are even lending a hand for other women to develop.

The real tragedy concerning the Chicana's future is that as pressing as her socioeconomic problems are, the real barriers to development are matters of "image" and "self-concept." It seems that when someone is hungry or without health care, "images" and "self-concepts" would be of least concern. But Chicanas have practically been paralyzed by pervasive stereotypes which have atrophied any meaningful relationships she might have with the power structure which dominates in this country. Worse still, two stereotypes with which she is identified have severely shaken her confidence in herself.

One firmly established image during the Anglo conquest was that of the Mexican woman as slovenly, brazen and generally undesirable. An Anglo woman, Susan Magoffin, first fixed this image in Anglo minds through her observations on Chicanas in the Southwest in the 1850s.

> "The women slap about with their arms and necks bare, perhaps their bosoms exposed (and they are none of the prettiest or whitest). If they are about to cross the little creek that is near all the villages, regardless of those about them, they pull their dresses, which in the first place but little more than cover their calves, up above their knees and paddle through the water like ducks, sloshing and splattering everything about. . . ."[1]

Then there was Louis H. Garrard's commentary in Wah-To-Yoh and the Taos Trail commenting on New Mexican women, last century:

> "I must say that there is much romance to a superficial observer in having a Mexican wife; but, were we to come down to sober reality, the affair would show forth in a different light. From the depraved moral education of the New Mexicans, there can be no intellectual enjoyment. The only attractions are of the baser sort. From youth accustomed to a life of servitude and vitiated habits, we look in vain for true woman's attraction -- modesty -- that attribute which

> encircles as a halo the intelligent, virtuous, and educated woman. Surely 'twas pardonable pride in me to notice by contrast the superiority of those of my own country."[2]

And then, of course, there is the other stereotype, discussed in the section on the family: that a Mexican American woman has no other aspiration but to be submissive and at home.

Gracia Molina de Pick in her "Reflexiones Sobre el Femenismo y la Raza" has summed up beautifully the feelings that two images, as a slovenly, loose woman and/or a masochistic, non-intelligent wife, create in Mexicanas:

> "Los sentimientos de inseguridad que se nos instilan afectan negativamente a nuestra causa ya que forman una gran parte de las decisiones timidas que tomamos en las que se pierde mucho talento y que son doblemente duras cuando se considera que muchas veces en la adolescencia acabamos por tener un bajo concepto de nosotras mismas y de nuestras madres quienes nos parecen haber aceptado esta imagen de si mismas sin reservaciones. Tambien con frecuencia se reflejan en la forma en que nuestros hombres nos miran, reaccionando en esas ideas malevolas que se transmiten en actitudes negativas ye que siempre estan presentes en el fondo de todas nuestras relaciones sociales dentro del grupo mismo y fuera de el, en el contacto con los demas."[3]

The future of the Chicana depends on many factors which she has been able to identify and isolate. Some of these are directly concerned with changing images. Chicana feminists and historians through research writing and active participation in curriculum projects are taking a direct hand to see that this happens.

The other factor has to do with institutional development and how successful women are in maintaining their institutions and building up strength within the existent community organizations. Another important element is her ability in the future to press for more participation and better services from the public institutions in this country which have used her as a "client" to now.

Most Chicana advocates feel that Chicanas are the future for the community; that once the images are destroyed, women will have nothing to hold them back, and considering the past involvement and strength of Chicanas, this seems a realistic attitude to them. On the future, the founders of the Comision Femenil Mexican expressed this hope:

> "We expect that this great force of women power will give the movement one great *empuje* to raise it one giant step higher in the drive for liberation . . . for peace and economic improvement for those who today are living in poverty and squalor. . . ."[4]

And the crux of the matter is that Chicanas have been able to handle themselves politically in such a way that their expectation is to accomplish their objective in a Chicano cultural context.

CHAPTER VI

FOOTNOTES

1. Cecil Robinson, With the Ears of Strangers: The Mexican in American Literature (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969), p. 77.

2. Ibid., p. 85.

3. Gracia Molina de Pick, "Reflexiones Sobre el Femenismo y La Raza," Regeneracíon, Vol 2/4 (1975), p. 33.

4. Dorinda Moreno, ed., La Mujer En Pie de la Lucha (San Francisco: Espina del Norte Publications, 1973), p. 29.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

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(Collection of short stories and two plays by the award-winning Chicana writer, English.)

Rambo, Ann Marie Remley. "The Presence of Woman in the Poetry of Octavio Paz," *Hispania*, LI:2 (1968), American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portugese, University of Connecticut, pp. 259-264.

Rubalcaba, María L. "Poesia," en *Caracol*, Julio 1975, Vol. 1, No. 11, p. 11. (Poems "Growing Up," "No Contact," "Waiting," " My Friend's Home.")

Sanchez, Rita, ed., *Imágenes de la Chicana*, Menlo Park, California: Nowels Publications, 1974, 32 pp.

Trujillo, Marcella. "Chicano Writers and Poets," *La Luz*, June-July 1973, pp. 43-48.

__________. "Poetry," *Los Conquistadores*, Spring 1973, pp. 35-37.
(See periodical listing for address.)

Valdez, Luis and Stan Steiner, eds., *Aztlan, An Anthology of Mexican American Literature*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972.
(Includes a section on la Chicana.)

Xirau, Ramon. *Genio y Figura de Sor Juana Inés de La Cruz*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria, 1967.
(Life, thought of the foremost intellectual woman of 16th Century Mexico.)

Zamora, Dionisia P. *Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz y la Educación de la Mujer*, Seminario de Cultura Mexicana, Mexico: Editorial Libros de Mexico, S.A. Avenue, Coyoacan, No. 1035.

Politics and Feminism

Chapa, Evey. "Report from the National Women's Political Caucus," *Magazin*, Vol. 1, No. 9, September 1973, pp. 37-39.

"The Chicana." A special issue, *El Grito del Norte*, 1971, Route 2, Box 5, Española, New Mexico 87532.
(Newspaper anthology on the Chicana's role in history and in the present movement.)

Cotera, Martha. "Chicana Caucus," *Magazin*, Vol. 1, No. 6, August 1972.
(Address before the Texas Women's Political Caucus in 1972 including the Chicana position toward the Anglo feminist movement.)

__________. "Mexicano Feminism," *Magazin*, Vol. 1, No. 9, September 1973, pp. 30-32.
(Martha warns against suppressing the feminist-inclined Chicana in the Chicano movement. Recognizing that any feelings of feminism should be directed inwards -- into the Chicano Movement -- she proceeds to describe the many Mexican women who have historically incorporated "Mexicano feminism in their contributions to history.")

__________. "When Women Speak," Event, Vol. 14, No. 1, January 1974, pp. 22-25.

(Similar to the article published in Magazin; includes present condition of Chicanas, and a review of the historical past, including the development of feminism within the Mexican culture.)

Flores, Francisca. "Comisión Femenil Mexicana," Regeneración, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1971, pp. 6-8.

Hancock, Velia G. "La Chicana, Chicano Movement and Women's Liberation," Chicano Studies Newsletter 1 and 2, Berkeley: February-March 1971.

Longauex y Vásquez, Enriqueta. "The Woman of La Raza," From the Barrio: A Chicano Anthology, Salinas and Toderman, Harper and Row, Publishers, N.Y., pp. 20-24.

(Original publication as "The Mexican American Woman," In Robin Morgan, ed., Sisterhood is Powerful, New York: Random House, 1970, reprinted by permission of Enriqueta Longauex y Vasquez. The notes are the editor's.)

Martinez, Elizabeth. "La Chicana," Ideal, September 5-20, 1972. (See journals section for address.)

Molina de Pick, Gracia. "Reflexiones Sobre el Feminismo y La Raza," La Luz, August 1972. (See journals section for address.)

(Author talks about the importance that the Chicano movement and Women's Lib movement have for the Chicana. She says that both movements are bringing to light a Chicanas that has always been there, but that has been misinterpreted and distorted by everybody. She states that now is the time for the real Chicana to come out, the one that has always fought by the side of her man for a true cause, and restart the struggle.)

Moreno, Dorinda. *La Mujer en Pie de Lucha*, San Francisco: Espina del Norte Publications, La Raza Studies, California State University, 1973.
(Poetry, essay and graphic anthology by Chicana feminists; includes other third world women; used widely in Chicano studies. Available from Concilio Mujeres.)

Marton, Carlos. "La Virgen Goes Through Changes" in *Caracol*, July 1975, Vol. 1, No. 11, pp. 16-17.
(Article on Chicanas and the new morality. See journal section for address.)

Newlon, Clarke, *Famous Mexican Americans*, New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1972.
(Includes portraits of Chicanas Dolores Huerta and Lupe Anguiano.)

Nieto-Gomez, Anna, ed., *Encuentro Femenil*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 1973, P.O. Box 753, San Fernando, California 91341.
(A feminist Chicana journal. The socioeconomic picture of the Chicana is the theme of the 1st issue of this journal. The second issue delves into the role of the Chicana in history and the image of the Chicana.)

__________. ed., *New Directions in Education: Estudios Femeniles de la Chicana*, San Fernando, California: Montal Educational Assn., 1974, 65 pp.
(A suggested curriculum for Chicana studies including a strong bibliography.)

Olivarez, Elizabeth. "Women's Rights and the Mexican American Woman," *Y.W.C.A.*, January 1972.

"Our Culture Hell; Feminism in Atzlan." A paper prepared for the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies Conference in California, Monterey, October 26-28, 1972.
(Important introduction to the Chicana movement. Emerged from the Conferencia de

Mujeres por la Raza, held in Houston, Texas, in May 1971. Stresses the fact that social scientists have created a stereotype of Chicanas. Those Chicanos who insist on Chicanas keeping their "culture values" by staying at home are only accepting the stereotype set for them by the Anglo world. Author shows how, in fact, Chicanas have had to work outside the home for many decades, belying assumptions . . .)

Popo Femenil, MECHA - Chicano Studies Newspaper, California State University at Northridge, May 1973. (Devoted to Chicana higher education, community needs; writings by Chicanas.)

Regeneración. Vol. 1, 11, No. 3, 1973, Issue on the Chicana roles, politics, education and poetry. (See journal section for address.)

Riddell, Adaljiza Sosa. "Chicanas y el Movimiento in Aztlan," Aztlan Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts, Vol. 5, No. 1 and 2, Spring and Fall 1974, pp. 155-165.

Vidal, Mirta. Women, New Voice of La Raza, New York: Pathfinders Press, 1971. (The author is Latin American and she speaks for Chicanas on Third World women's liberation in the U.S.A.)

"Women Picket Pharr Station - Bowe says Most Outsiders," The Valley Evening Monitor, Sunday, April 18, 1971, p. 1.

Social Conditions

Alianza de Mujeres de Mexico, La Situación Jurídica de la Mujer Mexicana, Mexico, D.F., 1953. (Women lawyers study the legal status of women in Mexico.)

Aguilar, Linda Peralta. "Unequal Opportunity and the Chicana," *Civil Rights Digest*, Vol. V, No. 4, Spring 1973, pp. 30-33.

Aramoni, Aniceto. "Machismo," *Psychology Today*, January 1972, pp. 69-72.

Chavez, Jennie V. "An Opinion: Women of the Mexican American Movement," *Mademoiselle*, Vol. 82, April 1972, pp. 150-52.

Delgado, Sylvia. "Chicana: The Forgotten Women," *Regeneración*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1971, pp. 2-4.

Fernandez-Marina, Ramon. "Three Basic Themes in Mexican and Puerto Rican Family Values," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 47, 1958, pp. 167-181.

Gonzalez, Juanita. "Sex Role Stereotypes," *La Luz*, January 1973, p. 21.

Goodman, Mary Ellen and Alma Beman. "Child's Eye-View of Life in an Urban Barrio," in Nathaniel Wagner and Marsha J. Haug, eds., *Chicanos: Social and Psychological Perspectives*, St. Louis, Missouri, c.v., Mosby and Co., 1971.

(Strong on child-rearing practices and family relationship. One of the very few efforts to document the Chicanito's barrio experiences; does some comparisons of Black-Chicano family attitudes.)

La Razón Mestiza, Special Summer Edition, 1975. San Francisco, California: Concilio Mujeres, 1975, n.p. Donation $5.00.

(Newspaper format, replete with poetry, photographs, essays on Chicana politics, history, feminism.)

Longauex y Vasquez, Enriqueta. *The Mexican American Women in Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement,*

New York: Vintage Books, 1970, pp. 379-84.
(Examination of complexities of personal and social problems confronted by Chicanas who attempt torear and support their families by themselves without the help of a man. The author believes these women who have lived all the roles of her people have a lot to offer to the Chicano movement. For these women, there cannot be women's lib alone, but a total liberation of their people. And men will only find liberation when they are capable of looking at these women as their equal.)

Macklin, June. "The Curandera and Structural Stability in Mexican-American Culture: A Case Study." Paper presented to the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, 1962.

Meadow, Arnold. "Changes in Marriage Roles Accompanying the Acculturation of the Mexican American Wife," Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol. XXX, August 1968, pp. 404-412.

Montiel, Miguel. "The Chicano Family: A Review of Research," Social Work, March 1973, pp. 22-31. "The Social Science Myth of the Mexican American Family," El Grito, Vol. III, No. 4, Summer 1970, pp. 56-63.
(A critical study which exposes the fallacies used in sociological studies of the Mexican and Chicano family. Reviewed are some of the most popular studies.)

Murillo, Nathan. "The Mexican American Family," in Nathaniel Wagner and Marsha J. Haug, eds., Chicanos: Social and Psychological Perspectives, St. Louis, Mo., C.V. Mosby and Co., 1971, pp. 97-108.

Nava, Yolanda. "Employment Counseling and the Chicano," Encuentro Femenil, Vol. 1, Spring 1973.

Peñalosa, Fernando. "Mexican Family Roles," Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol. XXX, November 1968, pp. 680-689.

Ramirez, Manuel. "Identification with Mexican Family Values and Authoritarianism in Mexican Americans," The Journal of Social Psychology, LXXIII, October 1967, pp. 3-11.

Ramirez, Santiago. "Some Dynamic Patterns in the Organization of the Mexican Family," The International Journal of Social Psychiatry, Vol. 3, No. 1, Summer 1957, pp. 18-21.

(An attempt to analyze 'machismo' within the context of roles played by members of the nuclear and extended family, and their emotional and sexual interaction with each other. The article only adds to the lack of viable information about 'machismo,' once the rationale is based on unproven generalizations.)

Sanchez, Corinne. "Chicanas in Higher Education," Encuentro Femenil, No. 1, Spring 1973, pp. 27-33.

Sutherland, Elizabeth. "Colonized Women: The Chicana, an Introduction," Sisterhood is Powerful, New York: Vintage Books, 1970.

Trujillo, Marcella. The Colorado Chicana and the Sixteenth Century Concept of Honor, Denver: El Valle Publications, 1973.

United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Women's Action Program, Spanish Speaking Women's Concerns Group, Recommendations and Implementations, Washington: Government Printing Office, March 1972.

Villa, Olga. "Mujeres y el Medio Este," Chicana Symposium, March 15, 1975, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana.

APPENDIX B

CHICANA ORGANIZATIONS IN THE U.S.

American G.I. Forum
National Women's Auxiliary
9006 Belk Street
El Paso, Texas

Chicana Research & Learning
Center
2434 Guadalupe
Austin, Texas 78705
Phone: 512/474-2811

Chicana Rights Project
Mexican Americal Legal
Defense & Education Fund
145 Ninth Street
San Francisco, California
94103 Phone: 415/626-6196

Chicana Rights Project
MALDEF
Petroleum Commerce Bldg
201 N. St. Mary's Street
San Antonio, Texas
Phone: 512/224-5476

Chicana Service Center
Corinne Sanchez
5340 E. Olympic Blvd
Los Angeles, Cal. 90022

Comisión Femenil
Mexicana Nacional, Inc.
2115 9th Street
Berkeley, California 94710
Contact: Anita Ramos

Comisión Femenil Mexicana
Francisca Flores
4721 E. Olympic Blvd
Los Angeles, Cal. 90022

Commission on the Rights &
Responsibilities of Women
DHEW
Room 3062, HEW North
330 Independence Ave, SW
Washington, D.C.
Phone: 202/962-0996

Concilio Mujeres
Dorinda Moreno
3358 Market Street
San Francisco, Cal.
Phone: 415/826-1530

Federal Women's Program
U.S. Civil Service Commission
Room 7540
1900 E Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20415
Phone: 202/632-6870

Girl Scout Migrant Project
Javier Banales/Maria Padilla
Kallison Bldg, Room 229
111 W. Laurel
San Antonio, Texas
Phone: 512/224-7365

Hijas De Cuatemoc
6923 Harvey Way
Lakewood, California 90042

Hijas de Cuatemoc
PO Box 735
San Fernando, Cal. 91341

MABPWA
Mexican American Business &
Professional Women of Austin
PO Box 6397
Austin, Texas 78762

Mexican American Business & Professional Women's Club
5832 Dean Martin
San Antonio, Texas 78242
512/684-5950

Mexican American Business & Professional Women
3817 Elmhurst
Dallas, Texas 75225

Minority Women Employment Program
2626 Calumet
Houston, Texas 77004
713/526-3495

Mujeres Pro Raza Unida
1110 General McMullen
San Antonio, Texas
512/224-7526
Contact: Irma Mireles
(political action, education, advocacy)

National Assn. of Minority Women in Business
c/o Inez Kaiser Associates
906 Grand, Suite 500
Kansas City, Missouri 64106

National Chicana Businesswomen's Assn.
c/o Anna Muller
1801 Lomas, NW
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87102

National Chicana Foundation
Ms. Cecilia Suarez, Chairwoman
507 E Ellingbrock Dr.
Montebello, Cal. 90640
213/722-2388 or 728-5420

National Chicana Institute
(organizational membership)
PO Box 7306
San Antonio, Texas 78207

National Chicana Institute
PO Box 336
Tempe, Arizona 85281

National Chicana Welfare Rights Organization
PO Box 33286
Los Angeles, California 90033

National Women's Political Caucus (Chicana Caucus)
1302 18th St, NW, Suite 603
Washington, D.C. 20036
202/785-2911

NOW Latin American Committees
c/o Elena Alperin
PO Box 6 6
Forest Hills, New York 11375

NOW Task Force on Minority Women
c/o Aileen Hernandez
680 Beach Street
San Francisco, Cal. 94109

Prison Reform Activities
Ines Guerra
3735 San Fernando
San Antonio, Texas 78207
512/924-1411, ext. 16
(almost singlehandedly working on prison reform and rehabilitation for Chicanas)

Spanish American Feminists
Box 773
New York, New York 10023

Spanish Speaking Women's National Caucus
c/o Irma Santaella
State Human Rights Appeal Board
250 Broadway
New York, New York 10007
212/488-2377

United Business & Professional Women's Club
1701 Bitter Drive
Austin, Texas 78744
512/442-1026

Welfare Rights Project
Southwest Regional Office for the Spanish Speaking
2114 West Commerce Street
PO Box 7306
San Antonio, Texas
512/224-7526
(economic development projects for Chicanas)

Women's Action Program
DHEW
Room 3059, HEW North
330 Independence Avenue, SW
Washington, D.C. 20201
202/962-5106

Martha P. Cotera - compiler

Women's Bureau
Ms. Peggy Jones
U.S.D.O.L.
555 Griffin Square Bldg
Room 506
Dallas, Texas 75202

Women's Bureau
U.S.D.O.L.
Carmen Maymi, Director
14th & Constitution, NW
Washington, D.C. 20210
202/961-2036

APPENDIX C

RESOLUTIONS PASSED IN CHICANA CONFERENCES IN THE U.S., 1970-1975

C-1

COMISIÓN FEMENÍL MEXICANA

The first national Chicana organization was created at the National Mexican-American Issues Conference held in the City of Sacramento, California, on October 11, 1970.

Resolutions

The effort and work of the Chicana/Mexican woman in the Chicano movement is generally obscured because women are not accepted as community leaders either by the Chicano movement or by the Anglo establishment.

The existing myopic attitude implies that women are not capable or willing to participate. It does not recognize that women are active, indispensible (representing 50% of the population), experienced and knowledgeable in organizational, tactical and strategical aspects of a people's movement. . . .

THEREFORE, in order to terminate exclusion of female leadership participation in the Chicano/Mexican movement, and in the community, be it

RESOLVED, that a Chicana/Mexican Women's Comision be established at this Conference which will represent women in all areas where Mexicans prevail . . . and;

That the Comisión direct its efforts to organize and train women to assume leadership positions within the Chicano movement and in community life.

That the Comisión disseminate news and information regarding the work and achievement of Mexican/Chicana women, and concern itself in promoting programs which specifically lend themselves to helping, assisting and promoting solutions to female-type problems and problems confronting the family, and;

That the Comisión spell out other issues to support;

That the Comisión explore its relationship to other women's organizations and movements, and:

Resolve that this comisión be known as the Comisión Femenil Mexicana.

(C.F.M. Promotional Literature)

LA CONFERENCIA DE MUJERES POR LA RAZA

May 28-30, 1971
Conference Report
Houston, Texas

About 500 Chicanas attended a national conference in Houston, Texas, May 28-30, 1971. Approximately 80% of the women were in the 18-23 age bracket from various universities across the United States. The main theme covered throughout the Conference was that of clarifying the womens' role as Chicanas and in the movement, mainly eliminating the passive role (home and motherhood) the Chicana has always played.

Among one of the main speakers was Julie Ruiz, an assistant professor of Social Work at Arizona State University. Her topic was "The Mexican American Womens' Public and Self Image." Central to the speech was the idea that "togetherness can liberate Chicanas." The only choice in this society for Chicana women has been the home and motherhood. Chicanas have to fight together for liberation so that they will have a choice. Chicana women can change the society that places inferior sexist and racist labels on them. Too much hatred has been stamped on Chicana women and it has to be shed.

Workshops were held on Identity and Movimiento Issues. Topics ranged from "Marriage, Chicana Style" to "Religion" and "Militancy-Conservatism -- Which Way is Forward?" to "Exploitation of Women -- the Chicana Perspective."

A resolution was easily passed that the Conference join others from San Antonio in speaking out against the use of "dummy" birth control pills in an experiment conducted on Chicana women, which resulted in ten unwanted babies.

Other resolutions, some of which met controversy, were: "We as mujeres de La Raza recognize the Catholic Church as an oppressive institution and do hereby resolve to break away and not go to them to bless our unions," an the support for free and legal abortions for all women who want and need them.

Throughout the whole Conference, in the workshops, in group sessions, a lot of personal differences were brought out. By Sunday, on the whole, the Conference had divided into two groups. One group staged a walk-out because the Conference was being held in a "Gringo" institution and should have been in the "Barrio" where the people were. They went to a nearby "Barrio" park to finish up their evaluations and resolutions. The other group decided to stay in the YWCA and finish up the Conference, making evaluations and resolutions, etc. Last-minute workshops on "Strategies for Future" were cancelled because of this reason. Two sets of final resolutions and evaluations were finally presented.

La Conferencia de Mujeres por La Raza

Complaints were presented by Group I that no "Barrio" people were represented at the Conference. Group II remarked that they were, but when they (Barrio residents) talked, attention, respect, etc., was not given to them.

A temporary communication paper will be "The Hijas de Cuatemoc," which originates in Hawaiian Gardens, California. The next Chicana Conference has been temporarily set for July 1972, in San Fernando, California. Rosters were passed around for names and addresses of those who would be interested in being involved in communicating and meeting together.

(Subjectively)
Key Points: Things we got out of the Conference were as follows:

1. Chicana women not only want to support the men in the movement, but also want to participate.

2. With further involvement in the movement, marriages have changed; traditional roles for Chicanas are not acceptable or applicable anymore.

3. Chicanas want Chicano and public recognition as a major facilitator in the movement.

4. Education and career opportunities are wanted for Chicanas.

5. There is a tremendous amount of personal and group differences among Chicana women. Some will react, others respond rationally, others just rap a lot and still, no action. We feel, along with other Chicana women at the Conference, that it makes no difference how many differences there are between what we think. The most important thing is to look at common problems to get ourselves together, and even more important is what we finally decide we're going to do. ACTION! Unfortunately, we felt that no real action (unified) was really arrived upon except to hold maybe another conference in '72. This is not to say we got nothing from the Conference because, as MHFW, we find the need for the two actions mentioned below, one of which is already being carried out.

As Mental Health Field Workers (MHFW), our concerns for our fellow Chicanas' changing needs overlap to some degree. We are women and Chicanas. We ought to be especially concerned with what we can do now. Where we fit in. Our concern as field workers should be based on the unique service we can offer, centered mainly on preventive aspects, such as Education.

Sex Education should be made available not only for the young, but also concentrated on male and female Chicanos over thirty. In our area many Chicana women over thirty, married and with children, still have sexual hang-ups. They have a need to talk it out, to be listened to and responded to appropriately. (They got themselves together with the help of two field workers and are presently having groups educating themselves in this area and are already finding their sex lives much more meaningful.)

Religious Education -- Again, education or re-education of parents as well as the young should be a top priority. For example, the Catholic Church no longer teaches that mortal sin is black, venial sin is gray -- no sin is white in our souls. Yet, this is what our parents were taught. The Church also has been going through a great revolutionary change, teaching new ideas and things to the children. They come home and parents teach them something else (what they were taught) and the child, teen or young Chicana, is caught in the conflict.

PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Spanish-speaking women (Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Central and South Americans) at a third National Organizing Conference held in New York City, Sunday, December 12, 1971, unanimously passed four Resolutions. Embodied in these Resolutions is a request that as President of our country, you intervene on behalf of Spanish-speaking women by:

1. Establishing a commission on the status of Spanish-speaking women, which will bring to your attention the status of Spanish-speaking women in our country.

2. Select a Spanish-speaking woman to recruit Spanish-speaking women talent.

3. Intervene in the serious problem of our not having Spanish-speaking women in the Federal Women's Program.

4. Assuring us that a Spanish-speaking woman will be employed in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Women's Action Program.

Irma Vidal Santaella, Commissioner
State Human Rights Appeal Board
New York City, New York
(Chairwoman, Eastern Region, National
Caucus of Spanish-Speaking Women)

Theresa Aragon De Shepro, Chairwoman
Washington State Commission - Mexican
American Affairs
Seattle, Washington

Cecilia Suarez, Chairwoman
National Chicana Foundation

Marisol Alba, Director
All Nations Women's Club
Public Relations
New York City, New York

Frances Flores
American G.I. Forum, Women's Auxiliary
Riverside, California

Gracia Molina de Pick, Faculty
Department of Literature
University of California
San Diego, California

Marta Cotera, Librarian
Crystal City, Texas

Jane Gonzalez, Councilwoman
City of Norton Shores, Michigan

Minerva de Leon
Advisory Board,
Texas Republican Women

Lupe Anguiano
National Policy Council
National Women's Political Caucus
Washington, D.C.

RESOLUTION ON EQUALITY OF RIGHTS FOR THE SPANISH-SPEAKING WOMEN

WHEREAS, the disenfranchisement of millions of Spanish-speaking Americans is a reflection of the plight and anxieties of a national Spanish-speaking community of 15 million people -- the second largest identifiable minority of Americans; and

WHEREAS, the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1964, as amended in November 1970, has abolished the English literacy test as a requirement for registration in Federal elections; and

WHEREAS, there is a Spanish-speaking community of about 2.2 million in the State of New York; and

WHEREAS, the English literacy requirement for registration of the New York Election Law had disenfranchised the majority of otherwise eligible Spanish-speaking American citizens; and

WHEREAS, more than 59% of the Spanish-speaking community are women who have been deprived of their voting rights and consistently denied their rights as American citizens;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: THAT IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE VOTING, LEGAL, AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING WOMEN, A STANDING COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING WOMEN BE ESTABLISHED TO:

LOBBY FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE ENGLISH LITERACY TEST AND OTHER PERTINENT LEGISLATION

SPONSOR NON-PARTISAN REGISTRATION DRIVES IN SPANISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

ENCOURAGE SPANISH-SPEAKING WOMEN TO ACTIVELY WORK WITH THEIR ENGLISH-SPEAKING SISTERS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY OF RIGHTS AND POLITICAL RECOGNITION AS A UNITED POLITICAL FORCE

INSTITUTE, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE SPANISH MEDIA, ORIENTATION COURSES FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING WOMEN IN OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND ELECTORAL PROCESS

DESIGN AND COORDINATE PROGRAMS GEARED TO THE PARTICULAR NEEDS AND SPECIAL PROBLEMS

OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING WOMEN, TOGETHER
WITH GOVERNMENT, LABOR AND INDUSTRY IN
EDUCATION, HEALTH, HUMAN RESOURCES,
CHILD CARE AND OTHER RELATED AREAS OF
HUMAN BEHAVIOR.

Submitted by the Spanish-Speaking
Workshop of the November 13,
1971 New York State Women's
Conference, Albany, New York

Irma Vidal Santaella, Chairwoman

Women's Unit/Conference
November 13, 1971
Albany, New York

Post Conference report mailed to conference participants, September 1972.

C-3

MI RAZA PRIMERO CONFERENCE

LAS MUJERES DE LA RAZA

February 22-23, 1972

Muskegan, Michigan

A Midwest Caucus was held by "Las Mujeres de la Raza" at the Mi Raza Primero" Conference held in Muskegan, Michigan Community College, January 22nd and 23rd. Councilwoman Jan Gonzalez of the City of Norton Shores served as moderator. Sixty-two (62) women representing the seven (7) midwestern states attended the caucus. The enclosed resolutions were presented to the conference:

RESOLUTION #1

WHEREAS: The Las Mujeres de la Raza feel that they have been deprived of the use of their talents as speakers, organizers, and coordinators of the past conferences and deprived of the opportunity to share their talents as Mujeres de La Raza -- Be it resolved that this conference go on record as approving the following resolution:

Las Mujeres de la Raza from this day forward will be given every opportunity to fully participate equally with their counterparts in conferences and any business that pertains to Raza -- Be it further resolved that no conference should be adjourned until the resolutions from Las Mujeres de la Raza be heard.

C-4

RAZA UNIDA PARTY
Platform, 1972

La Mujer

Second-class citizenship exists within the social, political and economic structure of this society. The existence of second-class citizenship manifests itself in the form of the denial, overtly and covertly, of equal rights for all citizens. This manifestation is perpetuated because many people are and will continue to remain powerless.

The position of second-class citizenship is share by many -- Chicanos, Blacks, poor Whites, and other minorities. However, the woman has now emerged as one of those clamoring for equal rights as first-class citizens. The minority woman finds herself in an unusual position when faced with the new movement for equal rights of women. The minority women cannot speak of greater political participation, equal pay for equal work, or even control of their own bodies, since all of these are denied in practice to all members of minority groups, male and female. This means that the minority woman does not have the luxury of dealing exclusively with feminism and fighting male chauvinism, as racism plays an even bigger role in suppressing peoples in the State of Texas.

A. La Mujer and Raza Unida Party

Raza Unida Party came into existence because the powerless must unite with one voice to demand what belongs to them by law and to change those laws which ignore or suppress them as individuals. The cry of Raza Unida Party has been the same one heard in the women's movement: equal legal rights, equal educational and economic opportunities, equal political participation and respect of the individual's rights to control his own future without legal obstruction.

Raza Unida Party has been fighting to end the existence of second class citizenship through full political participation of all peoples. To be suppressed is not a novelty to those who are organizing the Party throughout the State, therefore, all people are encouraged and urged to partipate in all stage of development of Raza Unida Party.

The statistics of the political participation of women in Raza Unida Party indicate that they are actively involved:

*Fifteen per cent of the candidates running for State offices under the Raza Unida banner are women. These positions include Lieutenant Governor.

*Thirty-six per cent of those holding the position of County Chairmen are women.

*Twenty per cent of those holding the position of Precinct Chairmen are women.

B. La Familia y La Raza Unida

The women, men and youth of Raza Unida Party join their sisters in the women's movement in demanding equal rights for all peoples, but more importantly, in assuring that human rights are guaranteed to all citizens. Raza Unida Party will work for this by fighting to insure that everyone, regardless of age, socioeconomic status or sex group, will have a voice in changing those things which control their lives: schools, courts, employment and government.

Raza Unida Party is taking a strong stand on justice to insure equal legal rights, on economics to insure equal economic opportunities, on education to insure equal educational opportunities, and on politics to insure full political participation of all citizens. Raza Unida Party does not feel that a separate stand on the rights of women is necessary as it is explicit that women are included in the fight for equal rights. Raza Unida Party believes that the strength of unity begins with the family. Only through full participation of all members of the family can a strong force be developed to deal with the problems which face La Raza.

This total family involvement is the basic foundation of Raza Unida Party -- men, women and youth working together for a common cause. However, acting in good faith and realizing that women, as a group, are suppressed, Raza Unida Party resolves that:

1. The amendment to the U.S. Constitution providing equal protection under the law for women be endorsed and supported;

2. All laws which maintain a double standard such as the "protective legislation" be repealed or amended to give women equality;

3. All resolutions referring to equal rights or a group representation included in the Raza Unida Party platform apply to women whether they be working mother, career women, or housewives;

4. And that the participation of women, to include the decision-making positions of Raza Unida Party, be actively continued through political education and recruitment of women.

Source: Texas Raza Unida Party, A Political Action Program for the '70s (1972)

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PARTY PLATFORM ON CHICANAS

The Raza Unida Party of northern California adopted a platform this spring with a section on Raza women. Below is the platform and some of the introduction to it.

We feel that the importance of the Raza Unida Party will be determined by the measure to which it takes into account the needs of La Raza as a whole, and by the measure to which it actively works to meet those needs and to eradicate every form of exploitation which burdens us.

For our women . . . there exists a triple exploitation, a triple degradation; they are exploited as women, as people of La Raza, and they suffer from the poverty which straitjackets all of La Raza. We feel that without the recognition by all of La Raza of this special form of oppression which our women suffer, our movement will greatly suffer.

Bearing this in mind and recognizing that a people as a whole can never be liberated if an entire sector of that people remains in bondage, we of the Raza Unida Party state our position as follows:

A. We shall respect the right of self-determination for our women to state what their specific needs and problems are, and how they feel that these needs can be met and these problems can be eliminated, as a basic principle of our party.

B. The party encourages La Raza women to meet in Raza women's groups wherever the movement is functioning, in order to enable to the women to discuss the direction that their participation is taking and the particular needs of Raza women they feel must be acted upon. . . .

C. The party will include Raza women in all decision-making meetings. . . .

D. The Raza men and women both will cooperate fully, in this party and at home, in the very difficult task we have before us of freeing our women and encouraging them in every way we can, at all times, to become involved in every level of the struggle, and in working actively towards the elimination of all attitudes and practices that have relegated our women to the unquestionably bondage positions they are now in.

Child Care

A. Child-care centers controlled by Raza must be made available for Raza in schools, workplaces and neighborhoods, totally free of charge, wherever our people are found.

B. These child-care centers will be open 24 hours a day and must accommodate children from the age of 45 days through the preschool ages.

C. Medical attention will be made available for the children, and facilities will be available for children who may be sick, with the necessary medicine, free of charge.

D. These centers will function as educational centers as well as care centers.

Work

A. An end to inequality in pay because of sex or race. Statistics show that for the same job, women now get paid half the wage earned by men. The poorest suffer from this the most. Raza women as a group are paid even less than their underpaid Raza male counterparts.

B. Fifty percent of Raza women who work, work as domestics. We want job openings in all area of work for Raza women, specifically in full-time employment with salaries to meet the standard of living no matter what it may be and no matter how much it increases. All Raza women who apply for jobs, in no matter what area, must be accepted. If training is needed, it should be given with pay.

C. Maternity and paternity leaves with pay and with a guarantee of a job on return.

Birth Control

A. Clinics and agencies within our communities that distribute any birth control information and/or abortion counseling and information, and clinics and agencies that pass out birth control devices and perform abortions must be community controlled, and a woman who is counseled must be thoroughly informed about all the dangers and possible side effects of any devices or operations.

B. No forced abortions or sterilizations of our women.

C. The ultimate decision whether or not to have a child should be left up to the woman.

Education

A. Intensive recruitment of Raza women into the schools, with Raza counselors and tutors to help the women stay in school and to encourage them to enter all areas of study.

B. Guaranteed jobs for all Raza women upon graduation in whatever field the women choose.

C. Part of the education of our women will be dedicated to the study of the history of the oppression of women within the framework of our background, and to the study of the role which Raza women have played in the history of our people.

(Conference handout, Raza Unida Statewide Conference, San Antonio, Texas, 1972)

NATIONAL CHICANO POLITICAL CONFERENCE

San Jose, California
April 21-23, 1972

We, as Chicanas, are a vital part of the Chicano community. We are workers, unemployed, recipients of welfare, housewives, students; therefore, we demand that we be heard and that the following resolutions be accepted at the Raza Unida Statewide Conference on July 1, 1972:

Be it resolved that we as Chicanas will promote "La Hermanidad" concept in organizing Chicanas. As Hermanas, we have a responsibility to help each other in problems that are common among all of us. We recognize that the oldest example of divide and conquer has been to promote competition and envy among our men and especially women. Therefore, in order to reduce rivalry, we must disseminate our knowledge and develop strong communications.

Be it also resolved that we as Raza must not condone, accept, or transfer the oppression of La Chicana.

That Chicanas be on all policy-making and decision-making bodies concerning La Raza.

All La Raza literature should include articles, poems, etc. written by Chicanas. Chicanas should also be encouraged to publish more, to relate the Chicana perspective in the Chicano movement.

In La Raza Unida that:

A) Chicanas be represented in all levels of the Partido (leadership, decision-making, organizing, and representation).

B) Chicanas be run as L.R.V.P. candidates in all general, primary and local elections.

Whereas the Chicana on the job is subject to unbearable inhumane conditions.

California Social Welfare Board

Whereas the concept of the importance of la Madre en la familia is a real fact in the stability of Chicano children, and,

Whereas research has established that children brought up in institutions are irreparably damaged by this experience,

Be it resolved that this conference as Chicanas will go on record to write to the California Social Service Welfare Board in opposition to their stated position of seizing children from all mothers under the age of 16; children born out of wedlock; and the third child of any unwed mother on welfare over 16 years of age.

Community Controlled Clinics

We resolve that more Chicano clinics (self-supporting) be implemented to service the Chicano community as the door for

1) Education of medical services available to the gente, i.e., birth control, abortion, etc.

2) A tool for further education of Chicana personnel into medical areas, returning to the barrios, and

3) As a political education to our people in viewing of the contracting bandaid programs now in existence.

Childcare Centers

In order that women can leave their children into the hands of someone they trust and know will understand the cultural ways of their children, be it resolved that Raza childcare programs be established in "nuestro barrios." This will allow time for women to become actively involved in the solving of our Chicano problems and time to solve some of their own problems. In order that she will not be deceived by these programs, be it further resolved that these programs should be run and controlled by "nuestra raza."

Chicana classes educating the Chicana, Chicano and the community in educational growth together be implemented on all campuses. That these classes be established, controlled and taught by Chicanas. The classes should deal with existing problems faced by the Chicana as a wife, mother, worker and as a member of "La Raza," and historical research should also be done by the classes on the discrimination of Chicana women.

Research:

Whereas, we resolve that research information be gathered and disseminated on the Chicana in the following areas:

1) Health, education and welfare
2) Labor
3) Women's rights
4) Funding sources

Interpreters:

Whereas many La Raza women do not speak English, and whereas this poses a problem in her support of her minor child, be it resolved that juvenile justice courts be petitioned to provide interpreters for Spanish-speaking mothers, and be it further resolved that Chicanos make a committee to offer time and moral support to mother and child who are involved in juvenile justice court action.

Vietnam:

Whereas, the Vietnam War has victimized and perpetuated the genocide of La Raza and has been used as a vehicle of division within our community and familia, be it resolved, that we as Chicanas demand the immediate halt of bombing and a withdrawal from Vietnam.

Drugs:

Whereas, drug administration and drug abuse is a big problem among our people, and,

Whereas, 42% of the Chicanos in prisons are in prison on marijuana charges, and,

Whereas, Chicanos and Chicanas are not presently adequately represented in drug education programs and,

Whereas, Pedalin, the drug used for hyperactive children, is being indiscriminately administered to our school-age children without full parentl knowledge of its effects, and,

Whereas, Pedalin is also being administered to mothers who are uninformed about its side effects,

Be it resolved that: This conference go on record as advising all local public health and public schools and La Raza that the possession of marijuana must be decriminalized and that a study on Chicana Pintas in prison on drug abuse charges be made as soon as possible and that Chicanos y Chicanas who are bilingual and relate to La Raza must be employed on a parity basis in all drug abuse programs and that before any drugs such as Pedalin are administered to any child or mother, adequate drug education on the effects and side effects of the drug be made available to the client in Spanish and/or English so that an intelligent decision can be made.

Education por Education:

Whereas, we resolve that Chicana parity be implemented as stated in the Affirmative Action Act.

Whereas, we resolve that the Higher Education Act and the Public Health Act concerning sex discrimination be supported and carried out by the Chicano community, we further resolve that a legislative clearing house be established to disseminate information pertaining to Chicanas.

Be it resolved that:

A) Chicanas receive equal pay for equal work,
B) That working conditions, particularly in the garment factory sweatshops be improved (shorter hours),
C) That Chicanas join unions and hold leadership positions within these unions.
D) Chicanas be given the opportunity for promotions and that they be given free training to improve their skills,
E) That there be maternity leaves with pay.

Prostitution:

Whereas prostitution is used by a corrupt few to reap profits for themselves with no human consideration for the needs of mujeres, and,

Whereas prostitutes are victims of an exploititive economic system and are not criminals, and,

Whereas legalized prostitution is used as a means of employing poor women who are on welfare,

Be it resolved that:

A) Those who reap profits from prostitution be given heavy prison sentences and have to pay large fines,

B) That mujeres who are forced to prostitution not be condemned to serve prison sentences,

C) That prostitution not be legalized.

Abortions:

Whereas we, as Chicanas, have been subjected to legal, dehumanizing and unsafe abortions, let it be resolved that we endorse legalized medical abortions in order to protect the human right of self-determination. Be it also resolved that Chicanas are to control the process to its completion. In addition, we feel that the sterilization process must never be administered without full knowledge and consent of the individual involved.

Received by Martha P. Cotera through the mail on July 1972 for use in RUP.

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RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVE STATUS OF SPANISH-SPEAKING WOMEN IN HEW

Recommendations on the status of women in HEW as summarized in the WAP report strongly point out the need to take an in-depth look at the under-utilized potential that now exists among female employees.

Spanish-speaking women are faced with the same problems as other women in the Department, but this is coupled with the fact that they possess a dual minority group membership. Coming from a different cultural background than that of the male Anglo -- by far the dominant group -- Spanish-speaking women face even greater handicaps for better training and upward mobility than their non-Spanish-speaking counterparts.

Recommendations on the Status of Spanish-speaking Women in Grades 1-7.

The main objective of this section of the Women's Action Program Report, i.e., to facilitate the upward mobility of women in these grades, does not fully apply to the Spanish-speaking woman.

Even though the Spanish-speaking represent at least 7% of the U.S. population, only 1.8% of all women in the Department are Spanish-speaking. Most important, there are only 808 Spanish-speaking women in this category, of a total of 38,919 women in these grades.

Thus, it is necessary that the Department's specific objective in regards to women in grades 1-7 include the recruitment and training of Spanish-speaking women in these grades.

Because of economic, social and cultural reasons, Spanish-speaking women tend to be undereducated and undertrained. Thus, they can seldom aspire to entry-level professional or mid-level positions.

HEW should take an active role in helping bridge the existing lack of opportunities for the Spanish-speaking woman and lead other agencies in utilizing this as yet untapped humanpower reservoir.

Specific steps should be taken to:

1. Recruit and hire Spanish-speaking women in clerical as well as paraprofessional positions.

2. Appoint a Spanish-speaking woman recruiter in all HEW agencies.

3. Insure that Spanish-speaking women be well represented in the Public Service Career as well as in all Upward Mobility Office programs.

Regional Offices

The majority of the Spanish-speaking women in the Department work at the Regional Office level, where the grade profile, on the whole, is lower than in Headquarters, and allows even fewer opportunities for upward mobility.

Therefore, the following steps need to be taken in the Regions to provide equal opportunities to the Spanish-speaking women in grades 1-7:

1. Information about Headquarters vacancies should be posted in visible places, and incentives offered to move to Washington, D.C.

2. All Upward Mobility Programs should be extended to the Regional Offices in FY '73.

3. Meaningful training opportunities should be provided in the Regions and made available to all Spanish-speaking women employees.

4. Special attention should be paid to the bilingual/bicultural ability of these women

in lower-grade positions to bridge them into paraprofessional and professional jobs that require public contact.

5. Part-time opportunities for the Spanish-speaking woman employee should be expanded at the Regional Office level.

Counseling

It is necessary to recognize that Spanish-speaking women share a special heritage and background which in turn gives rise to problems different than those confronted by other women.

It is thus recommended that bilingual/bicultural counselors who recognize the particular needs of the Spanish-speaking woman be appointed in the Regions as well as in Headquarters to advise them on how to obtain greater responsibility and utilization of their talents.

Recommendations on the Status of Spanish-Speaking Women in grades 8-18.

Only 260 Spanish-speaking women in HEW are in grades 8-12. This represents 1.4% of all HEW women in this category and 24.3% of all Spanish-speaking women in the Department, compared to 30.5% of all HEW women in these grades.

In grades 13-18, there are only 15 Spanish-speaking women of a total of 1,608 women and 9,748 men in this category. This represents 0.9% of all women and 0.1% of all males in these grades.

It is evident that special emphasis needs to be placed on the recruitment and hiring of Spanish-speaking women at these professional levels. To this end, it is recommended that:

1. There be a secretarial mandate to all Agency heads, Regional Directors and Division and Bureau chiefs emphasizing the need to hire Spanish-speaking professional women.

2. That Spanish-speaking women recruiters be hired by each HEW agency to tap qualified women candidates for professional positions in Headquarters as well as in the Regions.

3. That undergraduate and graduate schools with a sizeable enrollment of Spanish-speaking students be contacted to help in this recruiting effort.

4. That vacancy announcements for positions in the Department be distributed to Spanish-speaking women groups as well as to national Spanish-speaking organizations.

5. That the necessary steps be taken to insure that the President's 16-Point Program apply equally well to Spanish-speaking women.

6. That all Personnel Officers and Staffing Specialists be aware of the availability of selective certification to hire Spanish-speaking women.

7. That the Office of Personnel and Training emphasize the need to recruit and hire Spanish-speaking women in such programs as Management Intern Programs, Federal Personnel Intern Programs, Financial Management Intern Programs, HEW Fellows, OE Fellows, and the like, which have traditionally provided accelerated opportunities to move into upper-level positions.

8. That Spanish-speaking women be assigned to responsible positions which have career ladders that allow rapid movement to senior level positions.

U.S. Health, Education and Welfare Spanish-Speaking Women's National Consultation, Washington, D.C., July 1-2, 1972

C-8

NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS CONVENTION

CHICANA CAUCUS RESOLUTIONS
February 9-11, 1973

I. La Raza Unida Party

Whereas: A Democracy cannot succeed without full participation of all the people it purports to represent and,

Whereas: Chicanas and other disenfranchised women have not successfully found political expression in the established two-party system of this country and,

Whereas: The main objective of the NWPC is to encourage the participation of all women in the political process and,

Whereas: Raza Unida Party is a recognized innovative means whereby Chicanas have found effective political expression and participation,

Therefore be it resolved that the NWPC endorse Raza Unida Party as an innovative means of political expression for Chicanas, and be it further resolved that the name of the Raza Unida Party be included in all official and promotional materials which cite the Democratic and Republican parties.

II. Chicana Welfare Rights

That the National Political Caucus recognize and endorse the National Chicana Welfare Rights Organization as a separate and distinct body from the National Welfare Rights Organization because of its policies affecting Chicanas socially, culturally and economically.

Chicana Welfare Rights opposes the Talmadge Act because of its failure to provide meaningful employment or training for the poor as well as denying the mother who is poor the right to stay home if she chooses.

THE TALMADGE ACT ALLOWS FOR:

1. Breakup of the "familia" which is part of our culture. There is no education or economic mobility for the Chicana mother. The inadequate day care services force the welfare mother to leave her children at a child care center regardless of its quality. If the center is not bilingual, bicultural, and if it totally negates the family lifestyle, the Chicana has no right to object to it. If she rejects the child care center because of its location, facilities, its program or its personnel, she can be rendered ineligible for welfare.
2. No meaningful training for employment which would truly enable the welfare recipient to earn adequate wage (higher than her welfare check would bring).

III. Chicana Caucus Policy Council Members

Whereas: The Chicanas are members of the largest of the Spanish-speaking groups and,

Whereas: There exists a previous commitment of at least two Chicanas to the national policy council and,

Whereas: The Chicana Caucus reserves the right to designate the two Chicanas,

Be it resolved that this convention honor this previous commitment.

IV. Chicanas Local and State Caucuses

Whereas: The Chicanas have specific political priorities unique to the Chicano experience in the United States,

Let it therefore be resolved that in those states where Chicanos reside, Chicana Political Caucuses be established and maintained on equal basis with the other State caucuses.

V. Chicana Educational Opportunities

Whereas: The Chicano community is the most neglected in educational opportunities and,

Whereas: Women within the community are even more needy of educational development,

Let it therefore be resolved that educational legislative efforts supported by the NWPC such as the Women's Education Act of 1973 include the following:

1. Concerned efforts to research educational needs of Chicanas.
2. Chicana recruitment for higher education and into the careers and continuing education programs.
3. Active, realistic financial support for the education of Chicanas at all educational levels.
4. Chicana oriented tutorial and counseling programs.
5. Incorporation of the Chicano culture into educational systems and textbooks.
6. Active support of Spanish/English, bilingual/bicultural educational programs.

7. Inclusion of Chicanas in all affirmative action activity.

VI. Support of Farah Boycott

For the past ten (10) months, our Chicana sisters at Farah Manufacturing Company in Texas and New Mexico have been on strike in a struggle to win their rights to union representation and some measure of control over their working lives. Let us therefore reach out our hands to these Chicana women who are taking positive action to bring the purposes of the NWPC as drafted in July, 1971 to fruition.

The Chicana Caucus urges NWPC to endorse the Farah Boycott and urges all local caucuses to enter into the Farah Boycott.

VII. Support Lettuce Boycott

Whereas: The Agricultural working woman is the most exploited in this country and,

Whereas: The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has successfully alleviated many of the problems facing Agricultural workers in this country,

Whereas: The lettuce boycott is a viable means for NWPC to become involved in supporting Agricultural working women, Be it resolved that the NWPC actively endorse the lettuce boycott.

(Passed out to Conference participants, February 11, 1973)

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MUJERES PRO-RAZA UNIDA

TEXAS STATEWIDE CONFERENCE

San Antonio, Texas
4 de Agosto 1973

(1) Por la razón de que los campesinos diariamente son explotados de sus fuerzas de trabajo y

por que los campesinos que andan en huelga les estan excluiendo de beneficios de Welfare, y

por la razón que la minoria, los terra-tanientes, están recibiendo grandes ingresos al costo de una majoria . . .

> Entonces estamos completamente en oposición de las maneras represivas que se toman encontra de los campesinos para detener su movimiento. Apoyamos los campesinos en la lucha igualmente que al National Farmworkers Union y toda organizacion que apoyen los campesinos en lucha.

(2) Por la razón de que la lucha de esfuerzos como los huelgistas de Farah y otros obreros no han sido totalmente efectivos por la razón de que las condiciones de trabajo son de lo peor, y

> Entonces apoyamos por completo a todos los huelgistas obreros del tercer mundo.

(3) Por la razón que cualquier individuo que a sido altamente concientizado lo compran ó lo matan ó lo encarcelan;

y por la razón que Lolita Lebron (y otros) prisioneras politicas de Puerto Rico ha sido encarceladas por ser culpable de estar altamente concientisada;

Nos oponemos fuertemente a tal encarcelamiento.

y que Lolita Lebron luche hasta el fin para
acabar con la colonizacion de Estados Unidos
en Puerto Rico; lucha completamente justificada
y que la lucha continue porque su hasta la
Victoria.

Texas Ranger Resolution

We, the statewide Conference of Raza Unida Women, condemn the use of public funds for the construction of Texas Ranger Hall of Fame in Fort Fisher, in Waco, Texas.

We specifically condemn Governor Dolph Briscoe's continued glorification of this black period in Texas history, as noted by all sensitive and informed persons in this state. We, the Raza Unida women of Texas, consider the Texas Rangers a symbol of the most insensitive and oppressive pacification force ever used against a minority group in the U.S.

In the eyes of the Chicano Community, the poor, and other informed persons, the Rangers are viewed as executioners who were used in the newly conquered land by the Texas government and the rich. In many parts of the state families maintain memories of relatives brutally and unjustly murdered by the Ranger forces. Sites of mass massacres of "Chicano bandits and sympathizers" are still pointed out to visitors in South Texas.

We feel strongly that present day brutalities committed by the police against all minority children and adults can be traced to the acclaim and prestige the Texas Rangers receive despite their known attitudes against Mexicans whom they have brutalized in the name of law and order over the past 150 years.

We, the Raza Unida Women, feel that future research and courageous historians will publish records such as Legislator's J. T. Canales' who in 1919 managed to have the Ranger force reduced from 1,000 to 150 because of the documented evidence of their injustice.

We condemn further construction of any Ranger commemorative sites to further spare the state the embarrassment of having monuments glorifying monstrous acts committed against the ancestors of one-third of its taxpaying citizens.

For this reason we, women of all races holding the Raza Unida ideals of justice and humanism, join in condemning the glorification of violence, racism, and lawlessness represented by the Texas Ranger forces of Texas.

Mujeres Pro-Raza Unida
Raza Unida Women of Texas
Drawer 310
Crystal City, Texas 78839

C-10

CHICANA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Austin, Texas
February 23, 1974

CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Be it resolved that para-professionals currently employed in bilingual programs be given the opportunity to obtain a degree in bilingual education and be given priority for existing positions as teachers in such programs.

That more information on bilingual education be disseminated to all schools, media, the Texas Education Agency and other bilingual educators.

That the state of Texas, in view of its close proximity to Mexico and the vast number of Spanish speaking residents, move toward becoming a "bilingual state."

DAY CARE AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Whereas Chicanas comprise   % (data unavailable) of the Texas population and children of Spanish surname comprise   % (data unavailable) of the total children in Texas, and whereas Chicanas from Texas have not been represented on the policy and decision-making Board of the Day Care and Child Development Council of America,

Be it resolved that a Mexican-American Child Care and Development Advisory to the National Council be formed to petition the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc. for representation on the National Executive Board, on the National Advisory Council and Staff for the enactment of legislation to act on the bilingual-bicultural needs of the Mexican American child, and, that a mechanism be initiated whereby Chicano parents will be in a position to influence implementation and operation of local Early Childhood Education Programs, including but not limited to Day Care Centers, and, that information be disseminated on Child Care issues pending legislation to the Chicano community from the National Council through the Mexican American Child Care and Development Advisory being formed here at this conference: Issues of special interest are -- future grantees of existing Head Start monies, state plans for Early Childhood Development and certification of Early Childhood personnel.

EDUCATION

Whereas, Governor Dolph Briscoe has repeatedly demonstrated his persistance in actively denying the scholastics of the State of Texas equality of educational opportunity by such malign tactics as failure to call a special session of the Texas Legislature pursuant to the Supreme Court's ruling in the Rodriguez case which clearly placed upon the state the responsibility of school finance. This refusal is augmented when consideration is given to the fact that several states among them: California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Utah and Wisconsin, have already revised their system of school finance to achieve more equality, in the education provided to the students within their state. Texas has been totally lax in not instituting a much needed reformation of our school financial system. Governor Briscoe has contributed to this negligence by openly opposing and lobbying against Section VII(B) to the proposed Texas Constitution which would base the education that a child within the state receives on the wealth of the state as a whole rather than on the wealth of his individual school district. 1/As this constitution reads now, this essential provision will not be included.

1/Article VII, Education, (B) reads as follows, "In distributing State resources in support of the free public schools, the Legislature shall ensure that the quality of education made available shall not be based on wealth other than the wealth of the State as a whole and that State supported educational programs shall recognize variations in the backgrounds, needs, and abilities of all students. In distributing State resources, the Legislature may take into account the variations in local tax burden to support other local government services."

Be it resolved that the Chicana Caucus of the Texas Women's Political Caucus emphatically endorse inclusion of Article VII(B) to the proposed Texas Constitution as without it the equality of education for the state's poor is a mere utopian fantasy. Because of Goernor Briscoe's insensitive and arrogant neglect of the state's poor scholastics, the Chicana Caucus will actively oppose his re-election.

EMPLOYMENT

Whereas, Chicanas are doubly discriminated against on the basis of sex and national origin with regards to employment in that they occupy 13% of the female civilian labor force and,

Whereas, Chicanas comprise 9.38% in state government employment, the majority being employed in semi-skilled, unskilled and private households,

Be it resolved that we, as Chicanas, united in a concerted effort to promote and elevate the status of employment for Chicanas, demand that state and local government agencies act affirmatively in assisting Chicanas with resources such as counseling, training, employment referrals, as well as legal counseling for filing sex and national origin discrimination complaints.

SOCIAL ISSUES

REVENUE SHARING

Whereas, Chicanas are doubly discriminated against on the basis of sex and national origin, and as a result suffer severe oppression in such vital areas as education and employment and, Whereas, Chicanas receive inequitable treatment in areas that affect them directly such as revenue sharing, welfare, rape and abortion, and

Whereas, Federal requirements for revenue sharing funds allow the majority of these funds to be used for capitol improvements by the cities, and

Whereas, this has an adverse effect on social service programs for Chicanas,

Be it resolved that monies be appropriated for specific programs designed to aid Chicanas.

WELFARE

Whereas, any reference to welfare spending should be regulated by statute rather than by the Constitution of the State of Texas, and

Whereas, a constitutional limit on welfare is demeaning,

Be it resolved that the Chicana Caucus endorses the proposed draft of the Texas Constitutional Revision Commission which deletes the welfare ceiling and provides that "public money" be used for "public purposes," welfare payments inclusive.

RAPE

Whereas, rape is on the increase both at the state and national level, and

Whereas, the treatment of rape victims is degrading and inhuman, and

Whereas, this is of great concern to us as women and as Chicanas,

Be it resolved that the legal term for rape be changed to "felonious assault," and that Chicana women be utilized by the police and other agencies for the interrogation of "felonious attack victims."

Table I

SEX RATIOS OF MEXICAN AMERICANS BY AGE AND RESIDENCE

	Urban		Rural	
Age (Years)	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-9	50%	50%	49%	51%
10-19	50	50	51	49
20-29	48	52	49	51
30-39	48	52	50	50
40-49	50	50	53	47
50-59	48	52	52	48
60-69	49	51	55	45
70-79	47	53	54	46
80 or more	45	55	59	41

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population Subject Reports: Persons of Spanish Origin, PC(2)-1C.

Table II

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF SPANISH ORIGIN WIVES AND FEMALE HEADS

Wives in Husband-Wife Families	U. S. Total	All Spanish Origin*	Mexican American	Puerto Rican
% in Labor Force	39%	35%	29%	28%
% with Children Under 6	27	41	46	45
% with Children Under 6 in Labor Force	28	27	24	20
Female Heads of Families				
% in Labor Force	56	44	43	24
% with Children Under 6	21	33	30	46
% with Children Under 6 in Labor Force	51	34	NA	NA

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*Includes Cuban Americans, Central and South Americans, and persons of other Spanish Origin.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of the Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-C1. Subject Reports: Persons of Spanish Origin, PC(2)-1C.

Table III
EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS OF U.S. TOTAL AND MEXICAN AMERICANS

		U. S. Total	Mexican Americans							
			Total	Rural	Ariz.	Calif.	Colo.	Ill.	N.Mex.	Texas
Employment Status-age 16 & over										
% in Labor Force	Male	77. %	77. %	73. %	78. %	79. %	72. %	85. %	72. %	75. %
	Female	41	36	28	34	38	32	45	30	34
% Unemployed	Male	3.9	6.1	6.4	5.7	7.1	8.0	4.1	5.6	5.1
	Female	5.1	8.3	9.8	6.6	10.7	9.7	7.2	9.8	6.8
Major Occupations										
Professional & Technical Workers	Male	14.3	5.3	3.0	5.0	5.1	6.7	3.8	8.4	4.6
	Female	16.	6.4	7.0	6.3	5.5	6.7	4.4	7.4	6.8
Managers & Administrators	Male	11.2	4.0	2.6	4.0	3.5	3.8	2.1	5.3	4.8
	Female	3.6	1.9	1.9	1.7	1.6	2.0	0.6	2.0	2.2
Sales Workers	Male	6.9	3.2	1.6	3.4	2.8	3.6	2.0	3.1	4.0
	Female	7.4	5.7	4.4	6.0	4.9	5.6	4.8	4.8	7.3
Clerical Workers	Male	7.6	5.8	2.2	4.6	6.0	5.4	6.9	5.1	5.6
	Female	35.	26.	17.	27.	27.	25.	27.	27.	24.
Craftsmen, Foremen & Kindred Workers	Male	21.	21.	14.	20.	21.	18.	18.	19.	23.
	Female	1.8	2.3	1.5	1.4	2.2	1.9	2.7	0.9	2.6
Operatives	Male	20.	27.	20.	25.	29.	26.	41.	22.	24.
	Female	14.	26.	18.	22.	31.	16.	44.	12.	20.
Laborers, Except Farm	Male	6.6	13.	11.	17.	13.	16.	15.	14.	14.
	Female	1.0	1.7	1.9	1.1	1.4	2.3	2.0	1.6	1.8
Farm Managers and Laborers	Male	4.5	9.8	40.6	11.	10.5	7.2	0.9	10.4	10.
	Female	0.8	4.0	14.5	4.1	5.5	0.9	0.2	1.3	3.
Service Workers	Male	8.	11.	6.	10.	10.	13.	10.	14.	11.
	Female	20.	26.	34.	31.	20.	40.	15.	44.	32.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, PC (1)-C1; Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-D1; Subject Reports: Persons of Spanish Origin, PC(2)-1C; Puerto Ricans in the United States, PC(2)-1E.

Table IV

FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE U.S. TOTAL AND MEXICAN AMERICAN POPULATION, 1970

	U. S. Total	Mexican Americans							
		Total	Rural	Ariz.	Calif.	Colo.	Ill.	N.Mex.	Texas
% Husband/Wife Families	86%	82%	87%	82%	82%	82%	84%	81%	81%
% With Children Under 18	56	76	78	78	76	73	76	73	76
% With Children Under 6	27	46	48	47	47	44	46	46	45
% Persons Under 18 Living with Both Parents	85	80	79	80	80	77	83	78	50
% Female-Headed Families	11	13	9	13	14	14	10	14	14
% With Children Under 18	55	68	63	64	72	72	76	64	62
% With Children Under 6	21	31	30	24	33	44	34	25	27
% Primary Individuals	20	12	9	11	14	14	13	12	9
% Male	37	55	64	50	58	55	66	49	45
% Female	63	45	36	50	42	45	34	51	55
% Families with 3 or More Own Children Under 18	20	38	44	41	37	35	37	37	39
% Families with 5 or More Persons	25	46	53	49	44	42	45	43	49

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-C1; Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-D1 Subject Reports: Persons of SpanishOrigin, PC(2)-1C; Puerto Ricans in the United States, PC(2)-1E.

Table V

POVERTY CHARACTERISTICS AND SOURCES OF INCOMES OF THE U.S. TOTAL AND MEXICAN AMERICAN POPULATION, 1970

	U. S. Total	Mexican Americans							
		Total	Rural	Ariz.	Calif.	Colo.	Ill.	N.Mex.	Texas
Type of Income									
% of Families Receiving Social Security	20%	14%	13%	14%	13%	16%	10%	14%	15%
% of Families Receiving Public Assistance	5	12	12	9	16	18	4	11	9
Incidence of Poverty*									
% of All Families	11	24	38	24	18	24	10	33	36
% Female Headed	33	28	13	32	36	37	26	27	22
% Female Headed Families in Poverty	32	51	58	57	45	64	26	64	58
% of All Persons	14	28	42	27	20	28	13	38	40
% Who are 65 & Over	19	6	5	7	5	9	6	8	6
% 65 & Over in Poverty	26	37	21	45	24	44	25	53	49
% Unrelated Individuals in Poverty	37	44	54	55	35	52	33	65	60

*Per definition used by U.S. Census

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-1C; Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-D1; Subject Reports: Persons of Spanish Origin, PC(2)-1C; Puerto Ricans in the United States, PC(2)-1E.